

SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY

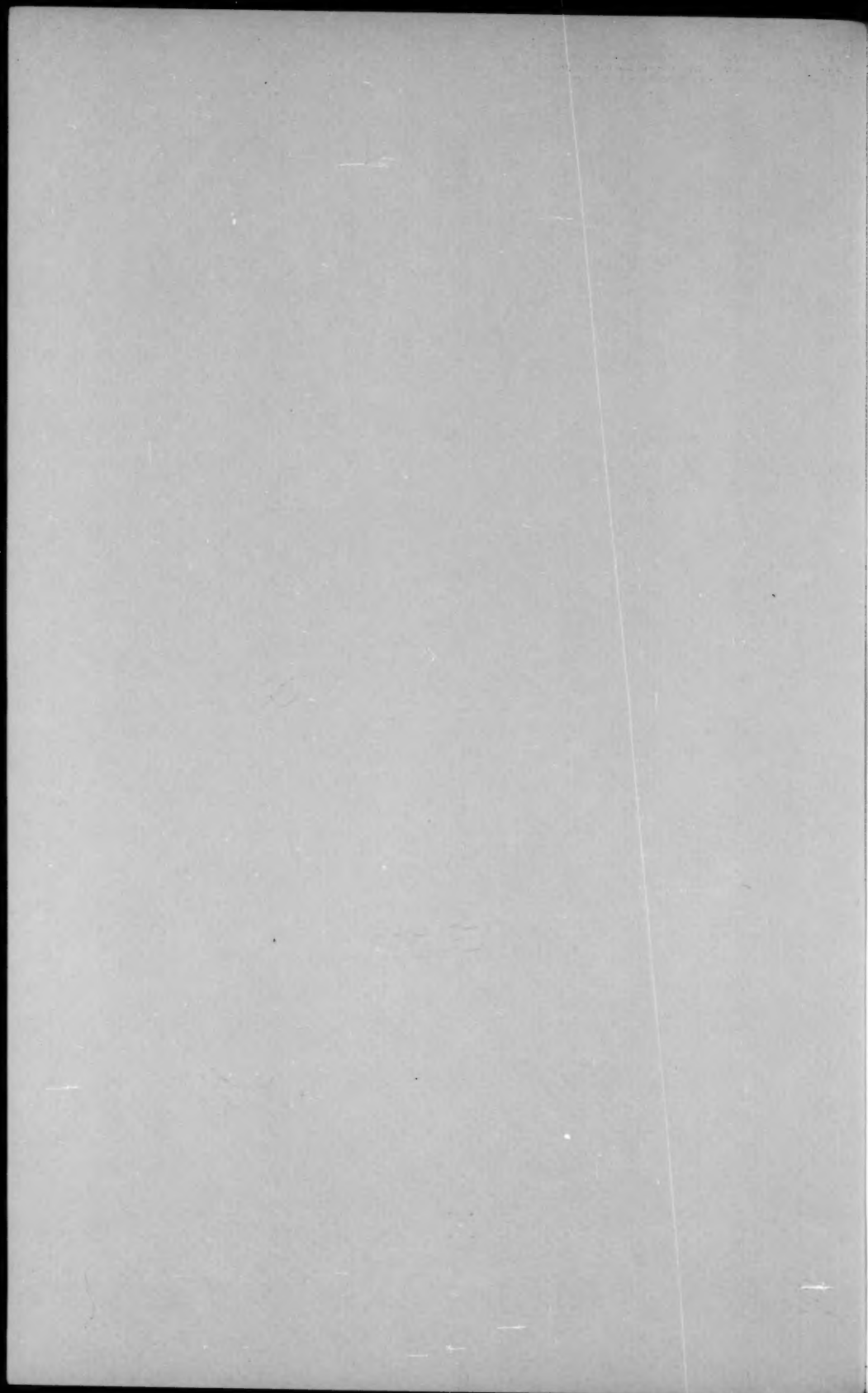


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"Their Tragic Scene": *The Phoenix and Turtle* and Shakespeare's Love Tragedies

DANIEL SELTZER



ULIET'S "What's in a name?" is an expression of one of Shakespeare's most persistent poetic interests: that of describing a person, quality, or emotion by suggesting that the powers of ordinary communication are not sufficient to the task. Her apostrophe functions dramatically in the scene, of course, for Juliet does not know that Romeo can hear her; but the speech draws attention to an aspect of literary composition which obviously intrigued Shakespeare throughout his career. Theseus describes it as part of the poet's function, as a challenge of articulation—to give "to airy nothing / A local habitation and a name" (*Dream* V.i. 16-17). The tricks of "strong imagination", he goes on, demand a localization of emotion, so that capriciously "imagining some fear" in a dark night, "how easy is a bush suppos'd a bear!" In larger terms, Theseus' subject is the tenuous reliability of language to *name* something, whether Montague's son or the composite of emotions called love. For the recognition of truth, our folly-prone perceptions need some helping grace similar to that required by the poetic vocabulary for accurate definition of intangibles; Theseus' speech comes near the end of a play full of the comical results of human and fairy blindnesses. The problem suggests more than the causes of laughter. The deceptions and follies of comedy, even as they delight us in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, are not distant from those frailties of human perception which, in Shakespeare's tragedies, frequently prevent distinction between good and evil by appearances alone. We cannot separate Shakespeare's intense poetic curiosity in the problem of identifying the truth with words from his conviction, as a responsible human being, that it must be set forth, implicitly, in a moral context. In spite of Elizabethan courtesy books, Richard of Gloucester and Claudius are villains while they smile, and the horror Shakespeare desired to raise in Iago's "I am not what I am" may have been greater than we realize.

Again and again characters probe into the defining characteristics of love, hate, beauty, or constancy—that which is "in a name"—frequently to their own bewilderment. Occasionally the device does not ring true, and Shakespeare's interest will outstrip the verbal requirements of a scene: Romeo laments,

Why then, O brawling love! O loving hate!
O anything, of nothing first create!
O heavy lightness! serious vanity!
Misshapen chaos of well-seeming forms!
Feather of lead, bright smoke, cold fire, sick health!
Still-waking sleep, that is not what it is!

(I. i. 182-188)

Johnson noted of these lines that "neither the sense nor occasion is very evident. He is not yet in love with an enemy, and to love one and hate another is no such uncommon state, as can deserve all this toil of antithesis."¹ In fact, the speech may be there to help characterize the lover of Rosaline, but it is more likely that behind it is Shakespeare's interest in the paradoxical joining of sometimes opposite properties, strangely altering themselves to form a new "essence", or remaining strongly themselves—in either case, producing objectified qualities which invite moral analysis. Such probing frequently passes unnoticed, sometimes affording no more than an opportunity for word-play: "O, who can give an oath? Where is a book", cries Berowne, eager to prove that his lady's dark complexion should be a criterion for beauty, "that I may swear beauty doth beauty lack." "O paradox!" answers King Ferdinand; "Black is the badge of hell." "Devils soonest tempt", Berowne replies, "resembling spirits of light" (*LLL* IV. iii. 250-251, 253, 257)—which, of course, is what Iago frankly proclaims to Roderigo.

Hamlet's speech on man to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern probes into reality as Juliet does when she muses on her lover's name; but it is greater in dramatic intensity, and more pertinent to the theme of the play than either Juliet's speech or Berowne's. Note that the rhetorical scheme of the passage builds toward the phrase "quintessence of dust" (*II*. ii. 322), the "fifth essence" or best part (see *OED*, *sb.* 1. and 2.) of the matter from which man was made, capable of the near divinity Hamlet allows it, equal to no definition which will satisfactorily clarify its *nature* to him. The old king in *All's Well* elaborates the essence of goodness by describing not only its inimitability, but the ease with which its identifying properties may be feigned or added from without:

Good alone
Is good without a name; vileness is so;
The property by what it is should go,
Not by the title. She is young, wise, fair;
In these to nature she's immediate heir;
And these breed honour. That is honour's scorn
Which challenges itself as honour's born
And is not like the sire. Honours thrive
When rather from our acts we them derive
Than our foregoers. The mere word's a slave,
Debosh'd on every tomb, on every grave
A lying trophy; and as oft is dumb
Where dust and damn'd oblivion is the tomb
Of honour'd bones indeed. What should be said?
If thou canst like this creature as a maid,
I can create the rest.

(*II*. iii. 135-150)

Just before hiding from the sheriff, Falstaff's last plea to Hal to save him is a jesting effort to identify the prince with roguery: "Dost thou hear, Hal? Never call a true piece of gold a counterfeit. Thou art *essentially* mad without seeming so" (*IH* IV, *II*. iv. 539-541). The prince's soliloquy early in the play, however, has informed us of just the opposite composition—Hal might almost have used

¹ Samuel Johnson, ed., *The Plays of William Shakespeare* (London, 1785), VIII, 12.

Hamlet's words, "I *essentially* am not in madness, / But mad in craft" (III. iv. 187-188, my italics in both quotations).

These examples indicate that Shakespeare's interest in the vocabulary of definition was general and in no way systematic. Such definition may serve characterization or over-all theme; but, as in the cases of Juliet and Hamlet, sometimes it appears simply as a protest of the difficulty or unreliability of descriptive definition (although this, in turn, may be highly important thematically). Occasionally, a character expresses a desire to analyze the mystery of human composition, and the articulate expression of inability to understand renders more powerful such speeches as Lear's "Let us anatomize Regan. See what breeds about her heart" (III. vi. 80). Not infrequently, however, this expression becomes more complicated, for a character will tell us, to his joy or despair, not only that identifying properties are hard to verbalize and trust, but that property itself can actually change—to paraphrase a line from "The Phoenix and Turtle", that the *self* will not be the *same*. For example, Brabantio's fears that Desdemona is the victim of black magic are specifically fears that wizardry has changed her nature:

Is there not charms
By which the *property* of youth and maidhood
May be abus'd?

(Oth. I. i. 172-174, my italics)

Scroop informs Richard that many of his friends have made peace with Bolingbroke, and after the king's hysterical rage, observes that "sweet love . . . changing his property, / Turns to the sourest and most deadly hate" (RII, III. ii. 135-136). Claudius repeats the thought in a different context:

I know love is begun by time,
And . . . I see, in passages of proof,
Time qualifies the spark and fire of it.
There lives within the very flame of love
A kind of wick or snuff that will abate it;
And nothing is at a like goodness still;
For goodness, growing to a plurisy,
Dies in his own too-much.

(Ham. IV. vii. 112-119)

In contrast is Oliver's joyou

'Twas I. But 'tis not I! I do not shame
To tell you what I was, since my conversion
So sweetly tastes, being the thing I am.

(AYL IV. iii. 136-138)

We know that the necessary abatement of love and the plurisy of goodness must be Claudius' sentiments and not Shakespeare's, for whom "Love is not love / Which alters when it alteration finds. . . . But bears it out even to the edge of doom" (Sonnet CXVI). The sonnet states the ideal, however. Shakespeare's most powerful irony, pervading his tragedies of love—that the purity of love, while stronger than any other human achievement, cannot survive in the reasonable world—does not enter the last plays, where the power of love to cure folly is efficacious within the literary frame of the tragicomic romance; but

especially in *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, and *Antony and Cleopatra* the irony is played out until "Beauty, truth, and rarity" may be admired only in death, with "nothing left remarkable / Beneath the visiting moon." Goodness may be born of evil when the decorum of the plot requires reformation, but it must have been one of Shakespeare's firmest beliefs that the constancy or metamorphosis of a human quality ultimately represented the power or frailty of man's will.

Shakespeare's use of such terms as "essence", "distincts", "division", "number", "simple", and "property", in "The Phoenix and Turtle", is not unique in his works. Because the poem is so concise, such vocabulary is immediately noticeable, but neither the words themselves nor the poetic and moral interests behind them are different from the statement of such interests in the plays. I do not think this similarity has been generally observed, although Shakespeare's treatment of the nature of "property" in the plays invites the comparison.

It may help for a moment to ignore the poem's reputation for difficulty and obscurity, and to assume that its meaning is more often than not explicit. "Difficult" it is, to be sure; but the linguistic probing to which it has been occasionally subjected may not be absolutely necessary. "The Phoenix and Turtle" is a hard poem because it compresses into succinct statement ideas remarkable in scope—ideas which, on the other hand, may appear commonplace when removed from the dramatic and poetic context in which we are accustomed to find them in the plays. The statement of the poem is unusually suggestive; but there is no insurmountable difficulty of allusion except as the work as a whole "alludes" to a way of thinking which is large in the grandeur of simplicity.

Shakespeare obviously took great pains to express himself with precision and clarity, if with equally great compactness, for the subject matter was most important to him. The effect of obscurity he could not consciously have desired, and the work is not, as Emerson suggested, a poem only for poets.² The language seems obscure because while it is curiously unadorned imagistically, the poem as a whole, as Walter J. Ong observes, has the qualities of a metaphor. The Phoenix and the Turtle may each "be considered . . . as a metaphor with a particularly wide range of applicability—as potentially multiple metaphors . . . capable of engaging reality at all sorts of levels simultaneously and indeterminately. . . . The exact reference of the phoenix and the turtle will depend on where you choose to pull them up for the moment by arresting your attention momentarily."³ Furthermore, the merging of the lovers may itself be considered as "a metaphor of a metaphor", and the poem as a whole, therefore, approached as a kind of treatise on this literary device. Ong's approach is an instructive one, but we must remember as well that the story in the poem is set forth concretely and explicitly. It is charged with action which keeps not only the birds but also the abstracted qualities of constancy, truth, and beauty as discrete agents (actors might be the better word), which build, gradually, the total meaning. In this sense the whole movement of the poem, much as the plot of a play, is a metaphor; and the movement is clear on a literal level, no matter how pregnant it may be with larger implication.⁴

² See the Introduction to *Parnassus* (Boston, 1874), p. vi.

³ "Metaphor and the Twinned Vision", *Sewanee Review*, LXIII (1955), 199-200.

⁴ Cf. A. Alvarez, "The Phoenix and the Turtle", in *Interpretations* (London, 1955), ed. John Wain, p. 8: "In most love poems (and this includes Shakespeare's plays) actions and attitudes

One of Shakespeare's favorite observations—the potential metamorphosis of an "identifying" property—is instrumental in establishing criteria for tragedy, and these are defined, and the "tragic scene" effected, by the energetic action which runs through the poem. The way in which "The Phoenix and Turtle" states the wonder of love is similar to that way in which the emotions of some of Shakespeare's tragic characters are played off against each other in the course of the plays. J. V. Cunningham suggests in a valuable essay that "the relation of the lover and beloved in Shakespeare's poem is that of the Persons of the Trinity, and the technical language employed is that of scholastic discussion on the subject."⁵ To back up his argument, Cunningham observes that Shakespeare's use of the word "essence" in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (III.i.182) and in *Measure for Measure* (II.ii.120) also stems from the scholastic definition of the term more directly than from, say, the vocabulary of courtly love. The Persons of the Trinity, he goes on, are said to be in a certain relationship which admits use of the term *distinction*, according to St. Thomas, but not of *diversity* or *difference*. This Cunningham relates to "Two distincts, division none" in the poem (27), and, explaining "Distance, and no space was seen" (30) he observes that "the Son is co-eternal with the Father in order of time (ST, 1.42.2), and hence in order of space (ST, 1.42.1, and see 1.83. ad 3.)" (p. 275). With the documentation of such parallels, Cunningham states that "all the difficulties of the expository part of the poem are resolved, and if it still remains difficult to understand, it is no more difficult than the Trinity" (p. 273).

One cannot disagree with Cunningham's basic premise that it is the obligation of the critic to try "to find out precisely what [Shakespeare] was saying", but because of the strictness with which he adheres to scholastic sources, he illuminates the author's vocabulary, but does not fully make use of it. For example, the reiteration of such paradoxes as "Two distincts, division none" indicates that Shakespeare wished to emphasize previous separateness as much as the "present" union in which plurality of number is excluded ("Hearts remote, yet not asunder" [29]; "Number there in love was slain" [40]). If the references in Aquinas would seem to elucidate "no space", they do not say why Shakespeare tells us in the same line (30) that "Distance" between the lovers was "seen" too. Shakespeare's terms are somehow *active*, as the courting, joining, and death of lovers in drama would be active. The scholastic doctrine of the union of the Persons of the Trinity, whether or not it was in the back of Shakespeare's mind, is a description after the fact, and is therefore as dramatically static as it may be, indeed, potentially poetic. All St. Thomas says about the Persons of the Trinity is that They co-exist in a certain relationship; in the poem, a coming together previous to union is emphasized as much as the wonder of the joining: "Hearts remote, yet not asunder", and

So between them love did shine
That the turtle saw his right
Flaming in the phoenix' sight:
Either was the other's mine.

(33-36)

are judged against *implicit* moral standards. Celebration affirms them, lament and disgust deny. In this poem the lovers themselves are *explicitly* these standards."

⁵ "Essence" and the 'Phoenix and Turtle', *ELH*, XIX (1952), 273.

While the miracle which is "seen" and described—"but in them it were a wonder"—may be also (or be *like*) the wonder of God, it seems in Shakespeare's poem primarily the result of the attraction of qualities which one might observe, almost as one would observe actors on a stage, moving toward death, their paths determined by the potential for metamorphosis within the fixed properties of love and constancy themselves. This is not to say that the metaphor of the poem is not like the relationship within the Trinity, but we must remember that Shakespeare's use of scholastic doctrine, and the way the poem re-vivifies it, may be as different from his "source" as is his use of the myth of the Phoenix. Cunningham tells us that the lovers "become one and yet neither is annihilated. [They] are of course destroyed in that they have passed in a mutual flame from this life, but clearly they have only passed into the real life of Ideas from the unreal life of materiality" (p. 272). I find nothing like this so "clearly" stated in the poem. Within its dramatic context, the paradoxical union, the mutual *death*, and the command to admire wonderingly are what Shakespeare stresses, and there is no mention or strong implication of an afterlife, platonic or Christian. The poem is about the tragic event and its observation, and a suggestion of whatever afterlife may exist "from hence", or whatever the "eternity" may be to which "the turtle's loyal breast" rests, if it is not oblivion, seems strongly negated by the "cinders" in which "Beauty, truth, and rarity" are now "enclos'd" (53, 55), just as the new Phoenix of the myth is absent in the "now" of "Death is now the phoenix' nest" (56). Since the vocabulary of the poem is powerfully suggestive, Cunningham's study is of great interest. Perhaps, however, the source and reason for its vitality are closer to home, deriving from the sense of action implicit in the poem's concrete "plot"—as much from the "distance" between the lovers as from their "essence but in one", and from the way in which the observing voice of Reason—the voice of a worldly "audience"—is introduced.

A movement in the poem, actually born within individual words, and a specifically arranged "scene" which may be observed by Reason (and the reasonable reader), are characteristics of a work in which the "images (tropes, concretions, metaphorical epithets, descriptive definitions) are 'arguments.'" I have quoted Miss Tuve's descriptive summary of the influential Ramist concept which led to "the dialectical toughness of the Metaphysical poem", with its "substitution of intellectual probing for rhetorical persuasion."⁶ At first glance, it would seem that "The Phoenix and Turtle" is a poem greatly dependent on "rhetorical persuasion", but in fact its rhetoric is poetry of pure and unadorned statement. As Miss Tuve points out, it was an old notion that the poet should move from the specific to the general; but Ramist theory explicitly stated that ordinary poetic tropes could be arguments in themselves. This may help us understand Shakespeare's method. (I do not suggest that Ramist theories of any sort were actually in Shakespeare's mind when he wrote the poem.) "The Phoenix and Turtle" seems to state the general in the first place, concretely, and without the "help of earthly images",⁷ until we realize that the actors of the poem, including the "abstractions" of love, constancy, and reason, are treated *as though they were earthly realities*, and that we have, as readers, followed them

⁶ Rosamond Tuve, *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery* (Chicago, 1947), pp. 342-343.

⁷ Henry Peacham's phrase, quoted by Tuve, p. 155.

outwards to the generalities of nature, allowing them to lead us, in fact, as "arguments" of intellectual debate. Shakespeare does not "add to what we see", but amplifies through the intense purity of his vocabulary and by the repetition of the paradoxes of single two-ness. These suggest larger application to explicitly stated action, and Shakespeare uses them for this purpose instead of precisely detailed categories of imagistic allusion.

Although a poet may describe the "tragic scene", he cannot ultimately reduce the tragic effect to the vocabulary of logic; the reasonable audience, left behind, celebrates and admires it, but it is beyond common emotional experience. This is why "The Phoenix and Turtle" is a Metaphysical poem *par excellence*. To use Fraunce's fine phrase,⁸ "the motion of the mind" which encompasses Shakespeare's description of perfect (and, frequently, therefore, in his view, necessarily tragic) love, occurs within the very terminology which Cunningham calls—and which may be—scholastic in origin. The details of Trinitarian doctrine do not really enlarge the paradoxes of the poem for us as much as they themselves have the power to do.

"The Phoenix and Turtle" carefully states the nature of love to remain always itself, with a power stronger than the power of two identifiable ("propertied") individuals to remain separate and discrete quantities. There is great capacity for moral statement in describing emotions and qualities as distinct abstractions capable of action. We may compare Ulysses' powerful definition of ungoverned will become appetite, which "must make perforce an universal prey, / And last eat up himself" (*Troi*. I. iii. 123-124), with Claudius' view of the "too-much" of goodness, inevitably metamorphosed into less than itself; but both examples may be contrasted with the "Two distincts, division none" of the Phoenix and the turtle-dove, uniting in love, admitting no impediments to the marriage of true minds. The lack of importance in the name "Romeo", as a verbal tag to identify Juliet's lover, emphasizes, so far as the lack of importance is discussed in the play, the constancy of his "single nature", definable only as their love is a "double name". Speaking quantitatively, the pure strains of the love of Troilus for Cressida and of Antony for Cleopatra are the same, but a tragedy can be made of Antony's because his love finds the miracle of beauty as felicitous as he is constant. "Property", in *Troilus and Cressida*, cannot be "appalled" by "simple . . . so well compounded"; no marriage of "Truth and Beauty" deserves in this play the repose of death.

To achieve the stature of tragedy, the individual lover must remain a "distinct", even in the unification of love. This is why the emphasis on distance and distinction in "The Phoenix and Turtle" is as strong as that on the merging—indeed, the maintaining of discrete actors causes the hyperbole of paradox in the anthem (stanzas 7-10). Just as an *idée fixe* of some folly is at the base of most comedy, the tragic hero is fated, as Aufidius says of Coriolanus, "by the sovereignty of nature" (IV. vii. 35), since he will be himself purely—in the words of the sonnet, "even to the edge of doom." Very early in *Antony and Cleopatra*, the hero embraces Cleopatra and states his disregard for Rome: "The nobleness of life / Is to do thus; when such a mutual pair / And such a twain can do't" (I. i. 36-38). Like the Phoenix, to which Antony is compared (III. ii. 12), and

⁸ Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike* (1588), ed. Ethel Seaton, (Oxford, 1950), p. 63.

the Turtle, he and Cleopatra "stand up peerless", and it is no accident that Reason's cry in the poem—"How true a twain / Seemeth this concordant one!" (45-46)—is echoed in the play. Philo, standing by with Demetrius, is of the Roman opinion, but it is interesting that in recognizing Antony's transformation, his language probes the essential nature of the hero:

Sir, sometimes when he is not Antony
He comes too short of that great property
Which still should go with Antony.

(I. i. 57-59)

"Antony", like "Romeo", is a tenuous definition of the persistence of true love.

Shakespeare describes the positive achievement of such love as very great, and the fact of death, of course, does not negate it. One might almost say, in over-generalization, that death occurs when the "sovereignty of nature" is pure enough, when no other action in the material world can be worthy of the hero. Wilson Knight argues that "The Phoenix and Turtle" describes "a maximum of ardour with a minimum of possible accomplishment", and that whatever spiritual values the poem suggests, it cannot refer "in general [to] any ordinary marriage" since, participating in the doctrines of courtly love, it denies sexual consummation.⁹ The stanza in question is the sixteenth, the third of the Threnos:

Leaving no posterity:
'Twas not their infirmity,
It was married chastity.

It is always possible that these lines refer specifically to the real persons celebrated by the poem, but in our ignorance of them (they have never been identified to the complete satisfaction of modern scholars), we need not consider the lines senseless in a larger context. The main trouble, of course, is "married chastity", but this means neither virginity nor total restraint from sexual activity. The common modern meaning of "chaste" (= celibate, virgin) occurs frequently in Shakespeare, but no more so than the equally acceptable meaning of complete fidelity within marriage. Laertes claims that to neglect his revenge would "[brand] the harlot / Even here between the chaste unsmirched brows / Of my true mother" (*Ham.* IV. v. 118-120), and Suffolk, in *1 Henry VI*, reports to the king that Margaret will marry him, "content to be at your command; / Command, I mean, of virtuous chaste intents, / To love and honour Henry as her lord" (V. v. 19-21). Katharine, in *Henry VIII*, and Hermione, in *The Winter's Tale*, both married women and mothers, protest that they are "chaste" wives (*H.VIII*, IV. ii. 132, 170; *WT* III. ii. 35, and see III. ii. 133). The word occurs three times in *Othello*, always meaning married constancy (IV. i. 73, IV. ii. 17, and V. ii. 249).

Miss Bradbrook, in a comment on Ronald Bates's article on the poem, in which he considers this stanza as possibly "a suggestion of the ridiculous",¹⁰ correctly states that "the associations of 'married chastity' for an Elizabethan would not be either with impotence or with abstinence."¹¹ However, she explains the lines literally: "the Phoenix and Turtle could not mate, for they were not of a species . . . the only level on which the poem can be read in a physical

⁹ *The Mutual Flame* (London, 1955), pp. 155, 153, and *passim*.

¹⁰ "Shakespeare's 'The Phoenix and Turtle'", *SQ*, VI (1955), 27.

¹¹ M. C. Bradbrook, "The Phoenix and the Turtle", *SQ*, VI (1955), 357.

sense *is* in terms of birds. That is perhaps why it is about birds and not about human beings. The idea of the human pair is behind the image: but the image of a human union is excluded. It is irrelevant to think in terms of Romeo and Juliet." I agree that in the poem "chastity" need not mean "abstinence", but that the reason for "no posterity" is the inability of a Phoenix and a dove to mate, does not ring true. "Leaving no posterity" may refer to the uniqueness of the love; as Miss Bradbrook puts it, "Truth and Beauty do not make more than a fugitive appearance on earth" (p. 358). The other stanzas of the Threnos reinforce this, especially

Truth may seem, but cannot be;
Beauty brag, but 'tis not she:
Truth and Beauty buried be.

What may still give confusion is "married chastity" as a *reason* for "no posterity". But if the phrase means the state of married fidelity so complete and constant that lust is no part of it, a sexual level (about which there could be no argument, say, in the *Epithalamion* of Spenser) is not excluded.¹² In Shakespeare's poem there is "no posterity" because no issue could possibly equal the lovers. "To think in terms of Romeo and Juliet"—and of Antony and Cleopatra—is, I believe, entirely relevant. The addition of the dove to the Phoenix-legend, as well as Shakespeare's general attitude throughout his plays, and particularly in the comedies, indicates that he would have agreed with Robert Greene, who observed that "there is nothing more faire then the Phoenix, yet nothing lesse necessary, because she is single."¹³

The merging of the lovers in "The Phoenix and Turtle" actively defines love, for without the paradoxical union of constancy and beauty there is nothing for Reason to observe which cannot be described in the ordinary words of the material world. The relation of the "tragic scene" in the poem to the conclusions of some of Shakespeare's tragedies is fairly clear. Whatever one's opinion may be concerning an afterlife for his tragic heroes, it is still true that the predominant effects of the last scenes of these plays are, as Cunningham says, in Horatio's words, "woe and wonder". Reason's Threnos in "The Phoenix and Turtle" emphasizes these emotions as well, with its insistence upon the death of the lovers and with its command to admire. We are told that Reason composes "this threne. . . . As chorus to their tragic scene" (49, 52). Although no definition of tragedy precisely applicable to Shakespeare's plays had been formulated, it is doubtful, in a poem so deliberately planned and so carefully written, that Shakespeare would have used loosely the theatrical words "Chorus" and "tragic", although they might well have come to mind automatically. Very much to the point, Cunningham quotes from the 1603 quarto of *Hamlet*:

enter Fortinbras with his traine.

Fort. Where is this bloody sight?

Hor. If aught of woe or wonder you'd behold
Then looke vpon this tragicke spectacle.¹⁴

¹² Cf. Donne's "The undertaking" (*Poems*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson [Oxford, 1933], pp. 9-10), in which the male lover is praised who not only "For . . . colour loves, and skinne", but can "Vertue's att'r'd in woman see, / And dare love that, and say so too, / And forget the Hee and Shee" (ll. 15, 18-20). Clearly sexual action is not excluded here, although lust is.

¹³ *Mamillia*; in *The Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, ed. A. B. Grosart (London, 1881-6), II, 43.

¹⁴ J. V. Cunningham, *Woe or Wonder* (Denver, 1951), p. 21; see pp. 54-59.

We must remember that not only is the "tragic scene" in the poem meant to be "sad", but that the "scene" itself includes the action of the consummation as well as the passing away of the lovers "in a mutual flame". We know this because we are told that Reason sees it, and because we sense action in the paradoxes of the anthem.¹⁵

It may be that Shakespeare was attracted to the Phoenix legend, as he presented it, as a vehicle for describing the "events" of love-tragedy. The Phoenix, the unique bird of Arabia, is far from being one of his most frequent allusions, and references to it, and related lore, are usually quite traditional. Shakespeare ordinarily uses the bird as an image of rarity; Iachimo says of Imogen, for example, that "if she be furnish'd with a mind so rare [as her beauty], / She is alone th' Arabian bird. . . ." (*Cym.* I. vi. 16-17). There is some indication, however, that the spices and perfumes of Arabia held in his imagination some power to heal or to give repose, and, although this is only conjecture, his mind may have connected these to the Phoenix myth.¹⁶ Lady Macbeth's despair even in "all the perfumes of Arabia" to cleanse her hand (*V.i.* 57) may be coincidence. More deliberate, perhaps, is Othello's metaphor of his own tears, which "drop . . . as fast as the Arabian trees / Their med'cinable gum" (*V.ii.* 350-351). These are healing tears, preceding the only felicity equal to Desdemona's beauty and truth. There is a passage in Golding's translation of Ovid, in the fifteenth book of the *Metamorphoses*, describing eternal change in the nature of all things; the Phoenix is one example, and we are told that it lives "by the ieuwce of frankincence and gum of *Amomye*."¹⁷ Two pages earlier is the wise man's address to time:

Thou tyme the eater vp of things, and age of spyghtfull teene,
 Destroy all things. And when that long continuance hath them bit,
 You leysurely by lingring death consume them euery whit.
 And theis that wee call Elements doo neuer stand at stay.
 The enterchaunging course of them I will before yee lay,
 And heede thertoo. This endless world conteynes therin I say
 Fowre substaunces of which all things are gendred. Of theis fower
 The Earth and Water for theyr masse and weyght are sunken lower.
 The other cowple Aire, and Fyre the purer of the twayne
 Mount vp, & nought can keepe them downe. And though there doo remayne
 A spayce between eche one of them: yit euery thing is made
 Of thesame fowre, and intoo them at length ageine doo fade.
 (Sig. Cc 6.)

This, in turn, leads to a short section on birds, including "Ladye *Venus* simple birdes the Dooues of siluer hew", and the lines on the Phoenix follow almost immediately. To assume a certain connection here would be folly; but the subject matter is close enough, perhaps, to be suggestive.

¹⁵ Alvarez (*Interpretations*, p. 6) has noted that "any unfolding, however intensely linguistic, is a series of actions, and the action of language is expressed clearest through the moods of the verbs used." Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to observe the similarity of the many imperatives in "The Phoenix and Turtle", and the phrasing of "Here the anthem doth commence" (21), to the imperatives and occasional phrasing of some Elizabethan prompt-books.

¹⁶ See Helen Gardner, "The Noble Moore", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XLI (Annual Shakespeare Lecture), 202, 205.

¹⁷ *The XV. Booke of P. Ouidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis*. . . , tr. Arthur Golding (London, 1567), Sig. Cc 8.

"The Phoenix and Turtle" is a lyric statement of truths which the tragedies set forth dramatically, constructed so as to reveal not only the inevitable doom of "the sovereignty of nature" when it achieves the pure essence of love, but also to describe in some measure the emotional effects of such action. Shakespeare invites an ideal audience, and, although it may appear a quibble, we may observe that Reason is moved. The content of the Threnos acknowledges "to these still figures we have pitied . . . the gift of feeling pity,"¹⁸ and its effect is similar to the concluding speeches of Fortinbras, Albany, Malcolm, Lodovico, and Octavius Caesar, which clear the air of confusion, but are not meant to remove the memory of death and sorrow. Perhaps most of all they command admiration, and none more than Caesar, the observing voice of Reason in Egypt: "Come, Dolor, see / High order in this great solemnity."

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¹⁸ Alfred Harbage, ed., *King Lear* (Baltimore, 1958), p. 29.



Stephen Harrison: *Arches of Triumph* (1604), "Gracechurch Street." This was erected by the Italians in London, who sat in galleries on either side beneath the arch. The emblematic figure rests on a sword and extends a diadem to King James. From the Folger Shakespeare Library copy. See also pp. 114, 126, 164.

Coriolanus—A Tragedy of Youth

F. H. ROUDA

ORIANUS is among Shakespeare's less popular productions, and not even T. S. Eliot's well-known opinion of it ("... with *Antony and Cleopatra*, Shakespeare's most assured artistic success") has helped to make it more popular. To the average reader and theater-goer, uninterested in its technical felicities, it remains an antipathetic work, dull to some, to others harsh and forbidding.

The trouble rests of course with Caius Marcius Coriolanus himself: he is the play's hero; all hinges on his character, which is self-righteous, violent, arrogant, and uncompassionate. Indeed, if there were no more to say about him, one would have scant cause to disagree with the consensus. But there is more to say about him, and it provides the basis for my belief that *Coriolanus* is not only an "artistic success" but vivid and genuinely moving theatre as well.

To begin with, its protagonist is one of God's honest men, so that his being to boot one of God's angry men is scarcely surprising: unless it be that of a saint, incorruptibility in a corrupt society must fight or find itself driven to the wall. But, also, Coriolanus, in actual years still young, is, to quote Granville-Barker, "... at heart ... the incorrigible boy". And here, I think, is the simple key to the drama. Overlook it—as, in the action's sheer sound and fury, most have done—and *Coriolanus* becomes both a wearying political wrangle and an unpleasant illustration of what happens to excessive pride. Use it and *Coriolanus* is seen to be, in essence, a tragedy of youth, pervaded by the pathos of youth's chronic misapprehension of reality.

The idealism of the young is for Coriolanus that blind spot—that ignorance of some vital, fundamental truth—that every tragic hero has as the source not only of his downfall but of the sublime imprudence that sends him frequently where angels fear to tread. But youth, unlike its elders, is not expected to be on easy terms with life; its protest against a world it never made is natural and right; too early, too ready a capitulation to that world speaks ill of circumstance or mettle. However, Coriolanus' idealism is no ordinary affair: he believes in the absolute integrity of the individual, nothing less. Uniquely, down to the least word he utters, his own integrity is absolute, and he believes with passion that that of those around him is, or should be, too. Honor and courage are the touchstones of his faith. Depart from their ways by a hair's breadth and your lapse, if he detect it, offends him. Depart conspicuously and he is outraged to a pitch of vehemence that justifies Brutus and Sicinius, the people's tribunes, in telling the plebians that he is their enemy. But he is not their enemy: he is enemy to their cowardice and inconstancy. Let them acquit themselves well in battle and he is, by their own admission, entirely their friend. It is with the zeal of the reformer that he harasses them, not from pride of class. He is no reac-

tionary who can say, "What custom wills, in all things should we do it,/ The dust an antique time would be upswept,/ And mountainous error be too highly heaped/ For truth to o'er-peer." His manner toward the patricians is not (at first) severe only because he is their dupe, taken in by appearances, never doubting that the virtues he holds dear they hold equally dear, that the code he learned from them they follow, or try to follow, as undeviatingly as he does. They are the persons he has been trained to respect; they are his compeers, owed his loyalty: he cannot suspect them of lip-service. Besides, to admire is a necessity to him: he must have heroes—is it not their scarcity that makes him fierce?

The picture drawn is not unsympathetic. He is a fanatic, yes; he has no mercy, no charity; his irreconcilability to human imperfection is unabating. Still, there is a logic to his madness: he himself is a hero—why should he not look to find heroism in others? It is failure that makes us lower our sights, and he has never failed. But he is not yet thirty years old, remember, and (it bears repeating) ". . . at heart . . . the incorrigible boy": rectitude may still give way in him to goodness—there is time. Meanwhile, if he is a prig, he is also the salutary measure of many of our shortcomings.

The point is, we must see Coriolanus as Shakespeare would have us see him, not as a blustering, bullying mature man, who should know better, but as a high-minded, emotionally untried youngster, whose insistence on asking more of the world than it has to offer is, after all, a form of innocence. It will be noted that he is the only young man in the play of any importance to it. He is surrounded by greybeards, and the contrast between him and them—between youth and age—is carefully sustained. Security is their preoccupation just as amelioration is his. Where (self-protectively, self-seekingly) they are diplomatic and cautious, even at times guileful, he is headstrong, impulsive, open. "His heart's his mouth:/ What his breast forges, that his tongue must vent"—incapable of the silence that seems to give assent, he will at any cost speak out. Nor is it even so much what he says as how he says it that brings him to grief. His public utterances are sound; often he displays better statesmanship than those who should be wiser than he. But he is not politic; expediency and compromise are words unknown to him—thus, he does not advise, he commands; he does not cajole, he threatens. For a softspoken phrase he can have all Rome at his feet—he withholds that phrase, sacrificing advancement to a punctilio. Granted, he tries our patience; at the same time he enlarges our conception of what it is to be honest. A few years older and he would seem to us, if not a fool, a megalomaniac (God's honest men usually do); lacking those years, for all his ferocity he shows himself in his uprightness to be a lamb among wolves, his vulnerability apparent, its consequences poignantly foreseeable.

He is not mercenary: to others he leaves the spoils of victory. He is chivalrous. He is chaste, a faithful husband to a wife he seldom sees. His one deeply involving relationship is, nevertheless, not with her nor with his infant son, whom he has had little opportunity to know. It is with his mother. She dominates him. She it is who has made him the man he is (and kept him the "boy" he is)—to her the credit and the blame. A remarkable woman, Volumnia, the most Roman of the Roman matrons. Son after son she has without a tear given her country; now only the finest of them is left. And yet it is he, reared to be the embodiment of an ideal, whom she finally calls "too absolute" and chides for not flattering the populace so that it will consent to his becoming consul.

Her doing so marks the turning point in his life. "Would you have me/ False to my nature?" he asks. It is a question that he could never have asked before, that, if he had asked it, would have been merely rhetorical. It is not rhetorical now. What he has been schooled not to perceive, he begins to perceive faintly: that perfect integrity lies beyond the reach of mortal man and woman, even his mother (even, he will soon be forced to recognize, himself). Ambition flaws Volumnia. Till this moment it has been a moot point whether she better loves Rome or her son. Now Coriolanus realizes that she loves his fame, his increasing glory, more than either. Painfully the blind spot shrinks.

It shrinks further when, banished from Rome, he hears that his erstwhile friends, "the dastard nobles", committed to his cause as to that of their strong right arm, are willing to forego their principles and his strength, and to forsake his friendship, rather than brave on his account the uncertain outcome of a civil war. In his bitterness he turns to the Volscians, joining with them to take upon his "canker'd country" a devastating revenge. The world he did not make and tried—and failed—to remake, he will now try to destroy. He will purify with the sword, raze and build anew. His final allegiance has always, in any case, been to his own convictions, to them—to the truth as he sees it—before anything else. Better a traitor to Rome than to what he knows is right. No matter that, always before, the right has coincided with his country's best interests: Rome is in the wrong now. Or that no act of his has ever failed to earn the moral approval of his friends: they are his friends no longer, "the dastard nobles"—he and the Volscians will teach them the lesson they deserve. Does vindictiveness cloud the issue for him? Doubtless; but conceive the crazing smart of his disillusionment: by his reckoning, with nothing in his awareness to brace him for event, all he is and stands for has been betrayed.

Leader of the Volscians, Tullus Aufidius has been in battle after battle his strongest foe, next only to himself the mightiest warrior of the age. An older man than Coriolanus, he is darkly resentful of his junior's superiority. But, boy-like, Coriolanus goes to him in implicit trust because, their ancient rivalry notwithstanding, Aufidius is the man he most admires. And Aufidius receives him well, intending to use him badly.

And so begins the march on Rome; presently they are outside the city's gates. Patrician after patrician, comes to plead his country's cause, is turned away from Coriolanus' tent. Even old Cominius, his "godfather", gets short shrift there. Only one person can now save Rome. She undertakes to do so. Volumnia, accompanied by her daughter-in-law and grandchild, appears before her son. They kneel to him. Because of what *he* has done, his mother kneels! For the first time Coriolanus feels shame—what price integrity now?—and with shame compassion: his eyes, which have never wept before, brim over. Rome is spared. Volumnia has saved Rome (and her son's fair name), but he and she both know that the price of her triumph will be his life: the Volscians will not let him twice play renegade. As it turns out, Tullus Aufidius soon thereafter provokes him to a public quarrel—"Boy!" he calls him contemptuously—and Coriolanus is assassinated.

But he does not die a "boy". One way or the other—either in resolving on vengeance or in abandoning that resolve—he has at last been false to his nature, and he cannot but know that he has. So, at the end of his short career, he

discovers not only mercy but the reason for mercy: the universal frailty of man. It is knowledge to grow and ripen on. It ripened Lear, another who thought to be a law unto himself.

I have called *Coriolanus* a tragedy of youth, and it must be staged as such if it is to affect its audience as it should. But it is also a tragedy of the exceptional man, aristocrat by birth, by temperament, and by native endowment, who is destroyed by his lack of the common touch. No one can condone his unbendingness. If his lot is ultimately thankless, he has brought it on himself—a breeder of fear and friction, he is of limited usefulness to the world. At the same time, it is to be regretted that this should be so, that such signal talents should be denied their proper scope. The moral cuts two ways: the great man is wanting in humility; the world, in generosity and faith.

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Hamlet's Quintessence of Dust

RAYMOND H. RENO



IN his *Shakespeare and the Natural Condition*, Geoffrey Bush makes a remark with which I think few students of *Hamlet* would disagree: "When Hamlet waits with Horatio before the fencing match, it is known to Hamlet and to us that whatever he does will be a consent to time and death."¹ In another place (p. 5), he speaks of this as being the most mysterious moment in the play, and of the impression it creates that Hamlet "seems to have come to terms with his world." It is indeed a mysterious moment, for the impression it produces seems to have no "objective correlative", no situation in the play itself sufficient to account for it; nevertheless it is there, part of the general feeling that at the end of the play Hamlet is an older and more mature person than he was when the play opened. Shakespeare seems to go out of his way to tell us that Hamlet is thirty, and no longer, as Theodore Spencer puts it, "the distracted undergraduate he was at the beginning."² Now "he is reconciled"; in Bush's words, "he has come to terms with his world."

No one, surely, who reads the play or sees it performed—certainly no one who *hears* Hamlet speak in V. i—is unaware that a change has occurred in him since the last time we saw him in IV. iv, a change indicated most strikingly by a new tone of voice. He had left for England determined that

from this time forth,
My thoughts be bloody, or be nothing worth! (IV. iv. 65-66).³

But he returns to observe with wry humor and a kind of grim delight: "How the knave jowls it to the ground. . . !" (V. i. 84-85). The most significant change, of course, is that reflected in his new attitude of "religious resignation"⁴ and manifested in such passages as "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, / Rough-hew them how we will" (V. ii. 10-11) and "There's a special providence in the fall of a sparrow" (V. ii. 230-231). If it is at all generally agreed that such passages indicate that Hamlet accepts his lot, is reconciled to "the world as it is",⁵ then certainly the most important question about the change is what has caused it.

Shakespeare gives us only one answer. The only thing that he tells us has happened to Hamlet between the time he left for England and the time he returns to Denmark is that he has escaped death. This escape, however, Hamlet

¹ Cambridge, Mass., 1956, p. 87.

² *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1951), p. 108.

³ All references to Hamlet are to the text in Kittredge's edition of the complete works (Boston, 1936).

⁴ A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy* (London, 1950), p. 145.

⁵ Maynard Mack, "The World of Hamlet", in *Shakespeare: Modern Essays in Criticism*, ed. Leonard Dean (New York, 1957), p. 257.

definitely takes as the work of providence. His rashness in leaving his cabin on the ship, he tells Horatio in V. ii, served him when his deep plot palled, and from this fact we learn there is a divinity that shapes our ends. Heaven was "ordinant" in that he happened to have his father's signet in his purse to seal the forged letter, and surely the pirate attack is felt by him to be further testimony to the working of providence.

This is all we have to account for the change; but is it enough? Frankly, I do not think it is, for the change is to be measured by the difference between these two attitudes:

Now could I drink hot blood
And do such bitter business as the day
Would quake to look on. (III. ii. 408-410)—

and:

But thou wouldst not think how ill all's here about my heart. *But it is no matter.* (V. ii. 222-224)

And it is a more profound change than that which occurred earlier in Hamlet and which is to be measured by the difference between his words of greeting to the players and his first soliloquy, by the difference between the Hamlet remembered with such anguish of soul by Ophelia and the Hamlet we see lugging the guts into the neighbor room. To effect the earlier change, the incestuous marriage of his mother and uncle and the revelation of adultery and murder were required. Are a handful of accidents enough, then, to effect the later and the more profound change?

And yet the change is evident, and, what is more to the point, we accept it. Why? The answer to this question, it seems to me, is that somehow we have been prepared to meet a new Hamlet, perhaps we have even been led to anticipate not only *a* new Hamlet but *the* new Hamlet we actually meet in V. i, a Hamlet reconciled, we have seen, to his world, one who has come to terms with the world as it is.

The nature of this reconciliation we have been prepared for from nearly the beginning of the play. In I. ii, Gertrude urges Hamlet to cast off his nighted color and not for ever to seek his noble father "in the dust."

Thou know'st 'tis common. All that lives must die,
Passing through nature to eternity. (70-73)

His uncle preaches to him on the same text: death is "as common/ As any the most vulgar thing to sense." Peevishly to oppose the universal condition is a fault to heaven and against the dead, a fault to nature, and

To reason most absurd, whose common theme
Is death of fathers, and who still hath cried,
From the first corse till he that died to-day,
'This must be so.' We pray you throw to earth
This unprevailing woe. (98-106)

The context aside, the advice given to Hamlet by Gertrude and Claudius is sane, balanced common sense; but the point is, of course, that the context cannot be put aside. Hamlet is aware of the universality of death, agreeing with his

mother that "it is common", but for him death is a particular. "Why seems it so particular to thee?" his mother asks. "Seems, madam? Nay," he answers, "it is." For this is his father who has died and whose life and death have been dishonored by Gertrude's o'erhasty and incestuous marriage.

Death as a general condition is of little importance to Hamlet at this point in the play: what is of concern to him is death as a particular, his father's death and his own. He yearns for his own death as a quietus, as an escape from a world grown weary, flat, stale, and unprofitable. Polonius takes his leave of him, and there is nothing Hamlet would more willingly part with—except his life. Death is to walk out of the air of Denmark—that congregation of vapors—into the grave, to be bounded in a nutshell but without bad dreams, and to find there the quiet sleep his heart aches for: "To die, to sleep. . ."

For the world has grown weary, and man—that quintessence of dust—delights him not. In the image, however, there is a kind of salvation, and we remember that Gertrude urged him not to seek his father forever in the *dust*. Claudius had besought him to cast to *earth* his unprevailing woe and lift his eyes to the sun. This advice Hamlet, in I. ii, could not take because a satyr now, rather than Hyperion, rules the kingdom of the sun, breeding maggots in a dead dog, a god kissing carrion. In a sense, however, Hamlet does follow the advice of his aunt-mother and uncle-father; at least he no longer seeks his father in the dust, for the object of his search is revealed to him high on the battlements of the castle.

No reconciliation, however, follows this revelation; in fact, it makes reconciliation nearly impossible, for it is a revelation of unnatural death, most foul, most unnatural. To accept this death as an aspect of the universal condition, to say of it with Claudius, "This must be so", would be to see the world as indeed a pestilent congregation of vapors; how would it be possible for a young man like Hamlet to grant that point of view? For Hamlet to accept his father's death would be to turn himself into a kind of Malevole or Vendice, seeing the earth as "the very muck-hill on which the sublunary orbs cast their excrements" and man as "the slime of this dung pit".⁶ As far as he has gone towards misanthropy, Hamlet never becomes a Malevole. The measure of difference lies in the balance achieved by Hamlet's intellect. For Malevole, "this earth is the only grave and Golgotha wherein all things that live must rot; 't is but the draught wherein the heavenly bodies discharge their corruption. . . . Man is the slime of this dung pit" (121-127). Coming from Malevole, these are statements of universal fact, and he would subscribe to Pietro's "All is damnation; wickedness extreme: / There is no faith in man" (IV. iv. 20-21). Hamlet, on the other hand, even in his most bitter moments retains a fuller awareness than Malevole (or Marston) possesses, and an ability to see, one might say, beyond the range of his own vision. The uses of this world "*seem to me*" weary, stale, flat and unprofitable. The earth *seems* a sterile promontory, the air "*appeareth . . . to me*" a foul and pestilent congregation of vapors, man—the quintessence of dust—"delights not *me*." Hamlet, unlike Malevole, is fully conscious of the subjectivity of his own point of view; at the same time, he is not only aware of what his eye fails to see but responds with all his fineness of soul to that other vision. As the

⁶ Marston, *The Malcontent* IV. v. 124-127, in *Elizabethan Plays*, ed. Hazelton Spencer (Boston, 1933).

quality of Malevole's language testifies to his disgust with the world and man, so the quality of Hamlet's reveals his admiration: "this goodly frame, the earth . . . this most excellent canopy, the air . . . this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire. . . ." And if man delights him not, yet man is still "in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals!"⁷ It is this remarkable balance and wholeness of view that save Hamlet from the extravagance of Malevole, and for him the world never becomes a dung pit. Instead, the unweeded garden becomes a graveyard; man becomes, not slime, but dust: the distillation, the fifth essence, is converted back into its original form: dust thou art, to dust thou shalt return. Man—"dust that is a little gilt"—travels all his yesterdays the way to dusty death.

"Ay, madam," Hamlet tells his mother in I.ii, death "is common", and by V.i, he is aware of its universality, he knows just how common it is. To the list of the dead by that time he can add Polonius and, shortly, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern; in his nostrils is the smell of his own death, and, a little while before, he had watched twenty thousand souls "go to gain a little patch of ground" (IV.iv.18). Now he has returned "naked" and "alone", conscious, as Lear becomes, of his own mortality. When the sexton spades up the skull at his feet, Hamlet sees what Lear sees in poor Tom: "the thing itself; unaccommodated man." Like Lear, he too smells of mortality; his bones ache to think on't. "Whose grave's this, sirrah?" he asks the gravedigger. "Mine, sir"—yours, sir, anyone's, sir. . . . Here's fine revolution, if we had the trick to see it.

Like the gravedigger, Hamlet now has no feeling of the business, for custom has made it in him a property of easiness. Perhaps he cannot sing at grave-making, but he can pun to a skull: "Not one now, to mock your own grinning? Quite chapfall'n?" He can trace the dust of a world-conqueror until he finds it stopping a bung-hole—and without considering a jot too curiously. His imagination turns from nothing. Earlier he had exclaimed, "What a piece of work is a man!" Now he asks the pointed question: "How long will a man lie i' th' earth ere he rot?"

The accumulation at this point of images connecting death and dirt has the effect of making death what Claudius had earlier said it is—"as common / As any the most vulgar thing to sense"—and of familiarizing us with the smell of death. "Examples gross as earth exhort" us, modify our perceptions until we agree with the sexton that the gravedigger is your ancient gentleman, holding up Adam's profession, and that "the houses he makes lasts till doomsday." We know that his song is about us as well as about himself and Hamlet: "But age. . . ."

hath shipped me intil the land,
As if I had never been such.

For us, as for everyone, "a pit of clay . . . is meet." Nor does this pattern of

⁷ That this passage in *Hamlet* is crucial for the difference between Hamlet's view of the world and man and Malevole's is evident from Marston's parody of it in Mendoza's panegyric on woman: "In body how delicate, in soul how witty, in discourse how pregnant, in life, how wary, in favors how judicious, in day how sociable, and in night how—O pleasure unutterable!" (I. v. 53-56 [p. 569]). The parallelism is noted by H. Harvey Wood in his edition of Marston's plays (Edinburgh, 1934), I, 240, and is discussed by Alfred Harbage in *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions* (New York, 1952), pp. 166-168.

imagery come as altogether a surprise to us, for we have been prepared for the equation of death and dirt from very early in the play. It began in Gertrude's words in I. ii:

Do not for ever with thy vailed lids
Seek for thy noble father in the dust.

And it was continued by means of direct or indirect references throughout the scenes that followed. We have heard Hamlet say in IV. ii, that he has "compounded" Polonius' body "with dust, whereto 'tis kin" (6). We have been shown "how a king may go a progress through the guts of a beggar" (IV. iii. 32-33), and we have learned that a body will not last as long under the stairs that lead to the lobby as the sexton claims it will in the grave. We have seen Ophelia's madness fasten itself on death and earth: "At his head a grass-green turf. . . ." "But I cannot choose but weep to think they would lay him i' th' cold ground. . . ." (IV. v. 31, 69-70). And we have been told of her own "muddy death" (IV. vii. 185).

Most of all, perhaps, we have been prepared by the spectacle of Fortinbras' army going "to their graves like beds", twenty thousand men "for a fantasy and trick of fame" going to "fight for a plot / . . . Which is not tomb enough and continent / To hide the slain." "We go to gain", the Captain has told Hamlet, "a little patch of ground."

There is little wonder, then, that we find Hamlet's speculations perfectly appropriate when, along with a spadeful of dirt, a skull is tossed up at his feet: "Is this the fine of his fines, and the recovery of his recoveries, to have his fine pate full of fine dirt?" What may have escaped notice, however, is the distinct tenor of much of Hamlet's commentary here: that is, his dwelling on, nearly his obsession with, the dead man as one who was once lord of much real estate. The second skull may be that of a lawyer or of one who was "in's time a great buyer of land." The skull of Yorick raises the question whether "Alexander look'd o' this fashion i' th' earth." Did he smell so—he who wept there were no more lands to conquer? Nor is it considering too curiously to trace the world conqueror's "noble dust"—"noble" in the sense that alive it is the distillation to the fifth essence—until we find it "converted" to loam and "stopping a bungle-hole." Or the imagination might track down the clay of Caesar—"that earth which kept the world in awe"—to a patch in a wall to keep out the cold.

To the buyer of land, and perhaps to Yorick as well, we might relate Osric. His name recalls Yorick, and he appears somewhat a fool. More to the point, however, "he hath much land. . . ." 'Tis a chough; but . . . spacious in the possession of dirt" (V. ii. 87-90). For comparison with Alexander and Caesar, obviously Fortinbras suggests himself. Like them, he is a soldier, and he aspires to be something of a conqueror. "Of unimproved mettle", he is hardly, of course, a world shaker, and indeed there is something infinitely comic in old Norway's pulling him up short in his plans to battle Denmark and then giving him "three thousand crowns" to lead his twenty thousand "lawless resolute" to war with the Polacks who have already been "smote" by the elder Hamlet. Nevertheless, this tender and delicate prince is a warrior puffed with divine ambition and leads an army of great mass and charge. To what base uses, then, may his dust return?

There is in the play, though, a conqueror of more renown than Fortinbras, and one much more comparable to Alexander and Caesar—the elder Hamlet himself. Indeed, the comparison is fundamental to our perception of the elder Hamlet, and it is Horatio who first makes it. Pondering what the import might be of the Ghost's apparition, he calls the attention of Bernardo and Marcellus to similar occurrences in "the most high and palmy state of Rome, / A little ere the mightiest Julius fell. . . ." (I.i.113-114). Hamlet, a scene later, compares his father to Hyperion and, in III.iv.56-57, to Jove and Mars: "An eye like Mars, to threaten and command." Further passages in the play's first scene expand the image of the former King into a figure of heroic proportions: A "fair and warlike form", it wears the very armor the elder Hamlet wore in battle with Norway and frowns as the King did

when, in an angry parle,
He smote the sledded Polacks on the ice.

He was "our valiant Hamlet"—and esteemed for his valor by "this side of our known world." In formal and single combat, he slew the elder Norway, Fortinbras. He "was and is the question of these wars." Finally, he was "the conqueror" of "all those . . . lands." Like the buyer of land whose skull it might be that lies at Hamlet's feet in V.i, like Osric, and like Alexander and Caesar, the elder Hamlet had "much land", was "spacious . . . in the possession of dirt."

Is it going too far to suggest, then, that in the first scene of the last act Hamlet finds his noble father where Gertrude told him not to look—"in the dust"? To suggest that Hamlet has come somehow to see the death of his father in relation to the universal condition that is represented by the graveyard and the symbol of dust? That he has somehow become aware of how false were his terms of comparison earlier in the play—"Hyperion's curls; the front of Jove himself; An eye like Mars . . . / A station like the herald Mercury"—and that he spoke more wisely than perhaps he knew when in I.ii, he said of his father, "He was a man, take him for all in all"? If these suggestions are allowed, then it may be admitted that Hamlet unknowingly echoes Horatio's comparison in the play's first scene when he phrases the line: "Imperious Caesar, dead and turn'd to clay."

These suggestions do not, of course, have to be allowed, for they refer obviously to what can only be called Hamlet's subconscious—although I cannot see how a coherent picture of his personality can be drawn without taking that element of him into account. Nevertheless, the suggestions may be disallowed without weakening the thesis of this paper, for the concern here is not so much with what Hamlet feels as with what we—readers and spectators—feel. And surely what we feel is the spell of mortality that dominates the last act. If Hamlet does not equate his father with the clay of imperious Caesar, we are ready to do so. Freed, too, from the necessity of insisting on what must be Hamlet's point of view, we can go on to make other equations: Claudius and the politician "that would circumvent God" and, finally, Hamlet and Yorick. There is, it seems to me, something of a man standing before a mirror in the picture of Hamlet holding Yorick's skull and looking into its vacant sockets. Like Yorick, Hamlet himself is "a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy", of "gibes" and "gambols" and "flashes of merriment". As he would have Yorick's skull do, he

has himself preached on the theme of women's painting their faces (III. i. 148-150). Yorick was a "whoreson mad fellow", and Hamlet, a fool of nature, has put on an antic disposition at court; indeed during the play-within-the-play scene he becomes a veritable court jester. "You are merry, my lord", Ophelia observes as he lies with his head in her lap. "Who, I?" responds Hamlet. "Ay, my lord", Ophelia answers. "O God," Hamlet says, in perhaps the most bitter line in the play, "your only jig-maker!" If the skull tossed up at Hamlet's feet might be the pate of a politician, the one he holds in his hand might be his own.

Relating these impressions now to our initial problem, that of a Hamlet "come to terms with his world", we can say, I believe, that although the vision of man as dust does not dissuade Hamlet from his revenge,⁸ it does in a way adjust his task to the universal perspective offered by the graveyard. After all, Claudius is no more able than the nameless politician to circumvent God—"if it be not now, yet it will come." And the death of the elder Hamlet too is seen in relation to a universal fiat—"this must be so." Fratricide is still unnatural, but death no longer is, and Hamlet is perhaps able to say with Macbeth, although not so coldly, he "should have died hereafter;/ There would have been a time for such a word." Finally, the vision prepares us for Hamlet's new mood of resignation. If this is the fine of all fines, to have fine pates full of fine dirt, if the breathing time of man's day is "no more than to say, 'one'", then what is it indeed "to leave betimes?" And Hamlet gives us the answer: "It is no matter."

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Is't not perfect conscience
To quit him with this arm? And is't not to be damn'd
To let this canker of our nature come
In further evil? (V. ii. 67-70).



Stephen Harrison: *Arches of Triumph* (1604), "At the Royal Exchange" in Cornhill. Erected by the Dutch and Belgians in London. At the top is the figure of Divine Majesty. Below, a picture of King James is flanked by emblematical figures. Just above the arch sit seventeen children, each holding a shield of one of the Seventeen Provinces. From the Folger Shakespeare Library copy. See pp. 102, 126, 164.

The Death-Mask

FREDERICK J. POHL



THE article on Shakespearian portraits in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, which first was published in the 11th edition (1910), was written by Dr. M. H. Spielmann. Every phrase in it has been conditioning the minds of readers for half a century. It is interesting to observe the way Spielmann argued. After frowning at the most popular of the portraits of Shakespeare, the Chandos portrait in the National Gallery, because "in every important physiognomical particular and in face-measurement, it is contradicted by the Stratford bust and the Droeshout print", Spielmann says of a portrait ascribed to Zuccaro that "it is curious that in certain respects it bears some resemblance not only to the Chandos, and to the Droeshout and Janssen portraits, but also to the death-mask." What is really curious is not that Spielmann claims non-resemblance of the Chandos and the Droeshout when it suits his purpose at one moment, and claims resemblance of the Chandos and the Droeshout when it suits his purpose at another moment. The truly curious fact is that the Chandos and the Droeshout, which he tells us are unlike in every important particular, can be resembled by a third picture—curious, unless they are portraits of the same human face.

A mature person owes the world a special effort to find an adequate basis for some positive belief instead of tending to undermine all existing ones. Our chief disagreement with Spielmann is that his pronouncements in their over-all effect tend to discourage us from feeling that we can know what William Shakespeare really looked like. The evidence herewith to be presented may demonstrate that we do know.

The Stratford Church bust and the Droeshout print are the portraits of Shakespeare with the best pedigrees. The bust is the earliest representation whose origin is unquestioned. The monument, of which the bust is part, was commissioned by someone, presumably Shakespeare's son-in-law, Dr. John Hall, immediately or soon after Shakespeare's death, in all probability in 1616. In any case, it had been erected in the church before 1623, in which year it was mentioned by Leonard Digges. The bust is thought to have been modelled, Spielmann says, from a life- or death-mask.

According to Sir William Dugdale, it was designed and produced by Gerald Johnson (Garratt or Gerrit Janssen). This could mean by one of his assistants or by several of his assistants working together. Johnson, who was from the Netherlands, was the leading tomb monument maker of London. He had a thriving business, employing 5 sons, 4 journeymen, 2 apprentices, and "1 Englishman". He seems to have expended great effort upon the construction of the elaborate Shakespeare monument with its conventionalized sarcophagus bearing heraldic insignia and flanked by two seated figures, and the arched

niche flanked by columns, and the inscription tablet. To these he seems to have given as much careful planning as to the sculpturing of the bust itself. He chose a soft stone for the bust, a bluish limestone. Partly of necessity because of the color of the stone, and certainly because it was the fashion, he painted the bust in colors, as the ancient Greeks did their statues, to simulate life. The face and hands were painted flesh color, the eyes light hazel, the hair and beard auburn, the doublet scarlet, and the sleeveless gown black. The upper side of the cushion on which the hands rest was painted green, and its lower side red, with gilt tassels.

We do not know whether the bust met with complete acceptance by Dr. Hall, by Mrs. Shakespeare, by Shakespeare's daughters, by other relatives, and by friends and neighbors. In the absence of any record to the contrary, we may presume that they thought it a passable likeness of the poet who had resided in their midst, and the bust has never left the Stratford Church.

In the past two centuries, however, the bust has not met with complete acceptance by every beholder. J. S. Hart¹ said of it: "The eyes and brows are unduly contracted, the nose evidently shortened by an accident of the chisel, the cheeks puffy and spiritless, moustaches curled up in a manner never found except on some city exquisite." He saw in the eyes "a rollicking good nature, not overburdened with sense or intellect". A. J. Evans² called the bust an "uninspiring effigy of a particularly stupid-looking man". The perceptive portrait painter Thomas Gainsborough was, as far as we have record, the first to express such criticism. David Garrick had asked him to produce a composite picture of Garrick and Shakespeare with as close a likeness to each as possible, and Gainsborough in 1768 went to Stratford and wrote to Garrick: "Shakespeare's bust is a silly smiling thing." Of the Droeshout print he wrote: "A stupider face I never beheld. . . . I intend, with your approbation, my dear friend, to take the form, from his pictures and statues, just enough to preserve his likeness past the doubt of all blockheads at first sight, and supply a soul from his works. It is impossible that such a mind and ray of heaven could shine with such a face and pair of eyes as that picture has."³

Gainsborough was as scornful of the bust as he was of the print. There is evidence, however, that the bust in the form in which it has existed from some time before Gainsborough saw it, is very different from what it was when it was first erected. The Shakespeare monument was "rebeautified" (which probably means repainted) in 1649, and was repaired and beautified by a painter in 1748. Dampness in the church caused need for repainting when the bust was only about 30 years old, and no doubt frequently since. The price paid in 1748, £12, 10s, would not have sufficed for repairs to the entire monument.⁴ By "monument" could have been meant merely the head of the bust. In any case, our question is whether the face of the bust was ever resculptured.

We have four early pictures of the bust, three in the form of engravings, and one a sketch. Sir William Dugdale⁵ gives the earliest illustration of the

¹ "The Shakespeare Death Mask", in *Scribner's Monthly*, July, 1874.

² *Shakespeare's Magic Circle* (London, 1956).

³ Carola Oman, *David Garrick* (1958), p. 287.

⁴ Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, "The True Story of the Stratford Bust", *Monthly Review*, XV (April 1904), 150-159.

⁵ *History of the Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656), the Stratford information therein having been procured in 1636, and publication delayed by Cromwellian warfare.

Shakespeare monument in Stratford Church. This engraving shows the bust with drooping moustaches, a proportionately long nose, generous width of cheeks, and widely-spaced eyes. However, because Dugdale's illustration is inaccurate in respect to the monument's decorative boys' figures and some of its architectural details, its testimony as to the original face of the bust, if it were unsupported, would have to be dismissed. It is quite possible, of course, that Dugdale's engraver thought the face of the bust of central importance, and having faithfully noted its features, carelessly left extraneous details to be later drawn from memory. A good reason for not completely discounting his Shakespeare engraving is the consideration that in the two other engravings of Stratford Church monuments, the Clopton and the Carew, he correctly showed the faces with down-flowing moustaches in the style of Elizabethan and Jacobean times, and if the face of the Shakespeare bust had borne what we may call its present t.w.u. (twisted, waxed, upturned) moustaches, he could not have failed to notice that obtrusive deviation. Vandergucht's illustration of the bust in Nicholas Rowe's edition of Shakespeare's works, 1709, likewise shows the drooping moustaches, the longer nose, and eyes more widely spaced than in the present bust, but it is probably a copy of the Dugdale. An engraving of the monument by George Vertue, in 1721, since it is reasonably accurate in architectural and other details, shows that Vertue must have gone directly to the monument or to someone who had. This engraving, which is in Alexander Pope's edition of Shakespeare's works,⁶ shows long-flowing, untwisted, unwaxed, down-turned moustaches, a normally long nose, and wide-spaced eyes. Spielmann said of it: "This engraving presents that monument to us pretty well *exactly as it is today*—all except the head!"⁷ But it is the head which concerns us.

George Vertue journeyed to Stratford in October, 1737, and in his record⁸ of his visit, included (folio 17) a sketch⁹ of Shakespeare's monument in which details of the face are incomplete. For example, merely the tip of a long nose is indicated, the positions of the wide-spaced eyes are merely dotted in, and only one down-turned moustache is drawn. Vertue meticulously says (folio 18) of this sketch: "This Something by memory." There was something about the Shakespeare monument which was different when he saw it in 1737 from what he remembered about it from 1721. The phrase makes no sense otherwise; for in 1737 the monument was there for him to see. Should he sketch it as it had been or as it now was? He linked his uncertainty as to the monument with his uncertainty as to Shakespeare's house, putting into one sentence references to both: "This Something by memory, and ye description of Shakespeare's House which was in Stratford-on-Avon." His sketch of the house was necessarily as it was remembered by some person in Stratford; for New Place had been torn down in 1702.

⁶ Vol. I, opposite p. xxxi, of *The Works of Shakespeare in Six Volumes Collated . . . by Mr. Pope* (London, 1725).

⁷ *The Title-page of the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays; A Comparative Study of the Droeshout Portrait and the Stratford Monument* (London, 1923). In the quotation, the italics and the exclamation point are Spielmann's.

⁸ Quarto volume MS in Brit. Mus. deposited by the Duke of Portland.

⁹ Frank Simpson, "New Place, The Only Representation of Shakespeare's House from an Unpublished Manuscript", *Shakespeare Survey* 5 (1952), pp. 55-57. Plate II. (Plate I is a sketch of Shakespeare's house.)

Three engravings and a sketch are corroborative of each other in respect to features of the original Stratford bust. To cast out all the evidence, as Spielmann does,¹⁰ is to embrace sterility.

It is not possible to set precise dates when fashions changed in regard to moustaches. However, the portraits¹¹ of the four Stuart kings of England seem significant. King James I, during whose reign the Stratford bust was made, wore down-flowing moustaches, continuing the fashion prevalent in Elizabethan times. King Charles I and King Charles II had t.w.u. moustaches, while King James II was shaven. Except notably the Puritans, who like Oliver Cromwell wore down-flowing moustaches, Englishmen have been prone to follow fashions set by royalty. Since Shakespeare was never taken to heart by the Puritans, it is inconceivable that a sculptor under Puritan direction would have resculptured the Stratford bust with t.w.u. moustaches in the fashion held by King Charles I and King Charles II. The resculpturing of the Stratford bust could only have occurred when the Puritan fashion was no longer in vogue.

Spielmann stubbornly resists the evidence of changed moustaches. He shows a portrait¹² of Maurice Prince D'Orange (1567-1625) "to illustrate the fashion of wearing the moustaches as in the Shakespeare effigy", forgetting that we are concerned with the fashion in England, not on the Continent. Against Spielmann are the early portraits. The Chandos has moustaches down-flowing, though brushed to keep them from falling into the corners of the mouth. The Janssen portrait has long down-flowing moustaches, gracefully waving. The Droeshout print has moustaches descending from the nostrils and following the edge of the upper lip. The Droeshout moustaches, however, are impossible, as is indeed almost everything about the print; for no such hairs ever grew on a human face, climbing like ivy on a wall all along the upper lip. The point that concerns us here is that the Chandos, Droeshout and Janssen do not show t.w.u. moustaches.

A painting by John Hall "before he re-coloured the bust in 1748" (shown in Spielmann's *The Title-page*, Plate 16) represents the monument, as Spielmann says, "practically as it is to-day". There is one noticeable difference, however. The nose is long; for its tip extends down to the moustaches. Hall thus added some dignity to the face.

While we cannot say definitely when the face of the Stratford bust was resculptured, all the evidence points toward the third decade of the eighteenth century as the probable time. The face differs now in four particulars from the way it consistently appeared in the four earliest representations. What brought about the four changes? An answer is found in comparative studies of the bust and another portrait, the Darmstadt Death-Mask. Since it would clutter the discussion to enter immediately into the history of the death-mask, that history is deferred for a moment.

The American painter, William Page, believing in the genuineness of the death-mask, made 26 measurements of it.¹³ He then went to Stratford and measured the bust. He found that nearly half of his measurements of the mask

¹⁰ *The Title-page*

¹¹ Fifteen or more of each king in the Print Room of the New York Public Library.

¹² *The Title-page*, Plate 7.

¹³ Page, *Scribner's Monthly* (1875), pp. 558-574, and *A Study of Shakespeare's Portraits* (London, 1876).

were identical with those of the bust. J. S. Hart, as we have seen, had said that the nose of the bust had been "evidently shortened by an accident of the chisel", and Page, not trained in research, hastily accepted Hart's explanation. Page published as his opinion that the measurements of the bust which did not agree with those of the mask were to be attributed to error made by the original sculptor.

Here the case rested for several years. Then Dr. Paul Wislicenus, one of the leading scholars and art critics of his day, who had published a book on the death-mask, *Shakespeares Totenmaske* (1910), decided to check on Page's measurements. His assistant, Herr Cauer, marked off with a caliper on a cast of the death-mask the points of departure for each of Page's measurements. With this marked cast, he and Cauer went to Stratford, and on August 4, 1911, with the permission of Canon Melville, had a trestle erected in the church, on which Herr Cauer mounted and took measurements of the head of the bust, while Wislicenus wrote them down. Canon Melville warned both men to be very careful in touching the head, as it was loose. Wislicenus published his findings in *Nachweise zu Shakespeares Totenmaske* (1913).

Before we look at his findings, let us consider his theory as to why the changes were made. He stated the theory in 1914.¹⁴ Wislicenus believed that the head of the bust had been knocked off by the Puritans before 1649, and that when it struck the pavement of the church, the tip of the nose had been broken and a dent made in one of the cheek bones. This theory challenges attention because only some such damage would have furnished motivation to the church authorities to order the changes that we have reason to believe were made. Shortening the nose would leave nothing discernible of a break at its tip. Elimination of a dent in a cheek bone would be accomplished by the reduction of both cheeks. The repairing sculptor, setting out to reduce the cheeks, would find that out of the former flesh of the cheeks he could chisel upturned moustaches in the fashion of his own day. He may have felt he was improving the bust by bringing it up to date. The reduction of the cheeks would compel a far more serious alteration. Since it would leave the original wide-spread eyeballs extending out too far in relation to the new cheek bones, the outer half of each eyeball would have to be chiseled into curtailment, making the eyeballs smaller and their centers closer together. Wislicenus has presented the only reasonable theory as to why the changes were made.

The 26 details measured by Page, each followed by the findings of Wislicenus, translated from pp. 77-80 of *Nachweise zu Shakespeares Totenmaske*, are here given in small type:

Comparative Measurements of the death-mask and the Stratford bust in its present form.

Horizontal Dimensions

1. Distance between hairs of eyebrows.

The mask bears no paint, but the sculptured eyebrows on the bust are slightly extended by their painting. With the paint disregarded, the dis-

¹⁴ "The Finest Picture of Shakespeare", MS, 97 pp. + 2 Appendix. Part I tr. by E. D'Esterre Stahl. Parts II and III tr. by Mrs. Nell Pfeiffer-Rogers. Parts I, II, and III by Dr. Paul Wislicenus. Part IV by his son Otto. Darmstadt, February 22, 1914. The manuscript is in the possession of Mr. Frank De Heyman, 325 Clinton Ave., Brooklyn 5, N. Y.

- tance between the sculptured inner ends of the eyebrows on the bust is the same as on the mask.
2. Distance between inner corners of eyes.
"Fully in agreement" on both bust and mask.
 3. Distance between outer corners of eyes.
Not in agreement. See No. 4.
 4. From cheek-bone to cheek-bone by way of the centers of the eyeballs.
This dimension on the bust is $\frac{2}{8}$ ths of an inch smaller on the mask.
 5. From center of bridge of nose, between the eyes, right side, to cheek-bone.
See No. 6.
 6. From center of bridge of nose, between the eyes, left side, to cheek-bone.
No. 5 and No. 6 do not agree on bust and mask. On the mask, the left is broader, the left cheek-bone being 4 millimeters further from the nostrils. The same inequality exists on the bust.
 7. Outer corner of right eye to center of bridge of nose.
See No. 8.
 8. Outer corner of left eye to center of bridge of nose.
No. 7 and No. 8 differ on bust and mask, the dimensions being each about $\frac{1}{8}$ th inch smaller on the bust. The outer corner of the left eye is farther from the center of the bridge of the nose than is the outer corner of the right eye. This inequality is the same on both bust and mask.
 9. Inner corner of both eyes to center of bridge of nose.
Identical on bust and mask.
 10. Across the fulness, above the temples.
Identical on bust and mask.
 11. Across the nostrils.
On the mask, 4 mm. smaller on each side than on the bust. The nose of a deceased person falls in, and this may be what the mask shows. This measurement can well be in virtual agreement.
 12. Breadth from point to point of moustache.
In view of the different styles of moustache on bust and mask, there is "naturally no agreement".
 13. Greatest width of tuft on chin.
On mask, $1\frac{1}{2}$ mm. more than on bust.
 14. Greatest width across lower jaws at level of mouth.
In agreement on bust and mask.
 15. Length of lower lip.
"Naturally not in agreement."
 16. Opening of mouth, between moustaches.
"Naturally not in agreement."
 17. Whole distance from beard on chin in front to back of the cast below.
"No comparison possible. The bust is a complete head and the mask has no rear side."
 18. From throat to under part of beard.
"Ditto" to No. 17.

Perpendicular Dimensions

19. Extreme length from peak of beard to top of head.
"In full agreement, apart from this consideration, that the peak of the beard was found to be somewhat too long, since on the mask it is bent

back under the chin. From the position of the chin in the beard to the top of the head, which on the bust is revealed very definitely in profile, the length of the face, if one accepts the slightly larger chin, is in close agreement."

20. From between the eyebrows to the top of the mask.
In agreement with the bust.
21. From between the eyebrows to the point of the nose.
The nose on the bust is shorter by 7 mm. (19/64ths of an inch). One does not measure to the tip of the nose on the mask but to the end of the nose on the upper lip. The upper ends of the lobes of the nose are at the same level, considered perpendicularly, on both bust and mask.
22. From the tip of the nose to the end of the beard.
This is not ascertainable, for reason stated in comment on No. 21.
23. From the inner corner of right eye to the top of the head.
In agreement on bust and mask.
24. Inner corner of right eye to bottom of lobe of nostril.
Shorter by 7 mm. on the bust. Compare with No. 21.
25. Inner corner of right eye to mouth.
In close agreement.
26. Opening of mouth to turn of chin.
In approximate agreement, the chin being somewhat larger on the bust. The difference is "minimal".

At first glance, less than half of the 26 measurements of bust and mask are in agreement. How can less than half prove anything? But let us not jump to a conclusion. Some of the measurements are inapplicable to a valid comparison, and some others are voided by the changes which we believe were made in the original bust.

A considerable number of the 26 measurements must be omitted from any fair comparison of mask and bust. Nos. 17 and 18 are dimensions where no comparison is possible, because the bust is a complete head, and the mask has no rear side. No. 11 is problematical. No. 13 is not significant, since it deals with the width of the tuft on the chin, which in life is modifiable by a razor, and is not a fixed feature of a face. In addition to these four, twelve other dimensions must be eliminated because of the changes in the bust to which all our evidence points. Three of the twelve are affected by each of the four changes.

In view of the fact that the difference between the length of the nose of the mask and the shorter nose on the bust, 7mm., is precisely the length added to the upper lip on the bust (see Nos. 21, 24, and 25), as compared with the upper lip on the mask, we have positive evidence that the three differing measurements, Nos. 21, 22, and 24, are ascribable to the shortening of the nose on the bust. To state it more unmistakably, the perpendicular distance from the level of the centers of the eyeballs to the line of the lips is the same on both bust and death-mask. We must therefore eliminate Nos. 21, 22, and 24 from the list of measurements which may fairly constitute a basis for comparing the bust and the mask.

Nos. 12, 15, and 16 are controlled or affected by the moustaches. The turn of moustaches up or down, and their length, can not be admitted as basic evidence in our count of valid comparative measurements. Moustaches are subject to fashion and the use of scissors. Since we believe the moustaches were

drooping on the original state of the bust and are curled upward on the present state of the bust, we must logically eliminate Nos. 12, 15, and 16 from the count.

The cheeks are flatter in profile on the bust. We believe that the cheeks were reduced, because only so could the new curled-up moustaches have been chiseled on the bust. Nos. 4, 5, and 6, which are affected by the cheek reduction, cannot constitute part of our basic evidence.

Also, Nos. 3, 7, and 8, which have been affected by the curtailment of the outer ends of the eyeballs made necessary by the reduction of the cheeks of the recheiseled bust, must be eliminated.

As we now see, a total of 16 of the 26 measurements cannot be used as basic evidence in considering whether the bust and the mask were of the same man. This leaves 10 measurements. To these we should add two. One to be added is the fact revealed by Nos. 5 and 6 of a lack of symmetry between right and left sides of the face, an inequality which is of the same amount on both bust and mask. This equal inequality, or same difference, while not one of the measurements on the list of 26, must be counted in as an additional measurement in the list we consider as basic evidence. So also, we note that Nos. 7 and 8 reveal a similar equal inequality, or same difference, which must be counted as an additional measurement.

We thus have 12 comparative measurements of bust and mask, of which two involving the beard and chin, Nos. 19 and 26, show a "minimal" difference, insufficient to furnish contradictory evidence, since that minimal difference may have resulted from the sculptor's conscious or unconscious departure from mechanical accuracy in giving volume to a chin under a beard, when the visible size of the lower end of the face would be affected by a beard that might vary in fulness according to how it was trimmed from time to time.

Fairly analyzed and sorted out, we have 10 valid comparative measurements of bust and mask. These 10 constitute our basic evidence. These 10 are all quite in agreement or identical.

When there are no valid measurements in certain contradiction, are 10 agreeing or identical measurements a sufficient number to establish that two representations are of the same face?

The answer lies in the fact that human faces differ as universally as do leaves, snow-flakes, or fingerprints. Between pages 58 and 59 of his *Nachweise*, Wislicenus gives tables containing measurements of 1396 pairs of heads in 17 particulars, a study which reveals the extreme rarity of even so few as 6 identical measurements of the features of any pair of heads. Opposed to affirmative conclusions, Spielmann in 1923 did not mention Page, though obviously aware of the measurements made by Page. Presumably he had not seen the Wislicenus study of pairs of heads (World War I may have prevented his seeing it), or he would have realized how vulnerable was his assertion that "certain of the linear measurements (of Stratford Bust and Death-Mask) agree, no doubt, as measurements of men's heads will sometimes correspond by chance." In bringing chance into his argument, Spielmann did not dream to what extent the mathematical chances were against him.

We have agreement or identity between the Darmstadt Death-Mask and the original Stratford Bust in 10 particulars. Even if we postulate only so few as 12

conceivably different measurements in any particular in human faces, such for example as 12 measureable differences in the length of noses, the chances that the mask and the bust are of the same man are overwhelming. We have agreement or identity of bust and mask in 10 particulars as against 12 conceivable differences in each of the 10 particulars. The number 10 raised to the 12th power is a trillion. It is in the order of a trillion to one that the death-mask and the original bust are of the same man. We can be sticklers and protest that chances of a trillion to one fall short by one in a trillion of absolute proof. However, in this matter of these portraits they are as much of proof as any reasonable person will require.

No two human heads are alike in so many details as 10, except perhaps in the case of identical twins. William Shakespeare did not have a twin, so far as there is record. Even if he had, and the representation of his identical twin were what we have been dealing with, we would have achieved our purpose, which was to learn what Shakespeare's face looked like.

Spielmann¹⁵ said of the Kesselstadt Death-Mask now at Darmstadt that it "has been claimed as the true death-mask of Shakespeare, and by it the authenticity of other portraits has been gauged." This statement can mislead, for it is partly erroneous. Both logic and fact are that the authenticity of the death-mask is established by the number of agreeing dimensions between it and the original state of the Stratford Bust, and thereafter and only thereafter does the mask become a tool for identification of other portraits.

The history of the mask does not shed any light on its genuineness or its lack of genuineness. It neither proves nor disproves. Study of that history shows no evidence to upset the demonstration that the mask is Shakespeare's.

Count Francis von Kesselstadt, of a Cologne family, died at Mayence in 1843. His ancestral art collection was sold at auction in that city the same year. Among the objects sold was a small oil painting which had been in his family for more than a century. It bore the inscription "A° 1637", and showed a man on a death bier, over his brows a wreath of laurel, and a lighted candle at his side. What happened next in the history of the mask grew out of an error made by Dr. Ludwig Becker, court painter, who assumed that the dead man shown in the picture was Shakespeare, in spite of the fact that, as Spielmann says, "the likeness, the death-date, and the wreath all point unmistakably to the poet-laureate Ben Jonson."¹⁶ Dr. Becker made inquiries and learned that there had also been a plaster of Paris cast of a man's face in the art collection of the Kesselstadt family, "but that on account of its melancholy appearance it had been treated with little consideration, and what had become of it no one knew" (Hart). Dr. Becker, his error in regard to the painting leading him in the right direction, at once assumed that the mask had been of Shakespeare, and for years searched for it until in 1849 "he discovered the lost relic in a broker's (antique furniture dealer's?) shop in Mayence, among rags and articles of the meanest description" (Hart). On the back of the mask was the inscription, with the "deceased" symbol of the cross: "† A-° D^m 1616". When Dr. Becker died, the mask went to his brother, Dr. Ernest Becker, private secretary to Princess Alice of Hesse-Darmstadt.

¹⁵ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

¹⁶ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

There are two gaps in the history of the mask. The second one, during the years 1843-9, is circumstantially slight and is logically bridged by probability. While it might be argued that someone during that gap might have made the present mask, and marked it with the date, this is most improbable; for the mask was not then brought forward as a discovery of importance or placed in a shop window to push sale of it. When Dr. Ludwig Becker found it, it was lying neglected, considered of little value by the dealer who had it, and the presumption is strong that it is the mask that had been in the Kesselstadt collection.

The longer gap between a death-mask made in Stratford-on-Avon in 1616 and the possession of such a mask by the Kesselstadt family in the eighteenth century, can be bridged only by conjecture. Hart thinks the Shakespeare family had a death-mask made and sent it to London, to Johnson, the tomb monument maker. After using it to shape the head of the bust, Johnson laid the mask on a shelf, where later it was found by some man from the Continent, who, with an eye to art values, bought it, and from whom it passed into the hands of a member of the Kesselstadt family, whose possession of the Ben Jonson death-bed picture shows his interest in the English dramatists. That we do not know who carried the mask from London to Cologne, when anyone of many persons could have carried it, is not an argument for or against. The history fails to prove, and it does not disprove, the genuineness of the mask. Spielmann's ex-cathedra assertion¹⁷ that the mask is "hopelessly unauthentic and discredited" is a prejudiced statement.

Spielmann, with patent intention of slighting it, said: "It is not in fact a death-mask at all, but a cast from one."¹⁸ From this one might receive the impression that the death-mask had somehow been made to order to fit specified dimensions, and was not taken from an actual human face. Spielmann's aspersion is a verbal quibble, as we see when we consider how a death-mask is made. The face of the deceased is well greased, and a thin layer of plaster is poured on it. After this hardens, a thicker layer is poured, and thus the mold is made. This mold is pulled off and turned over, and its inner surface is well oiled. Then plaster is poured into it, and as soon as this new plaster is hard, the mold is broken off in pieces, leaving the cast, which is called the mask. Single hairs will adhere to the mask, for those where the plaster was insufficiently greased in the first step of the process will have been caught by the mold and torn out of the face. Their roots will appear in the plaster of the cast. There are 36 hairs sticking to the Shakespeare mask, or cast, if you prefer to call it that. Their color, auburn, is no evidence, for very old hairs generally change to that color. The fact that the hairs are in the mask is important, however, for it establishes that the mask was not molded, as a hoax, to the dimensions of the original Stratford bust, but is a genuine death-mask made from an actual human face of a man deceased.

A small spot over the right eyebrow has been mistaken for a scar or dent, but is only a discoloration of the plaster. There is, however, a scar revealed by the death-mask, which may be seen in a photograph of it full-face. It is thus described by Hart: "2½ inches back from the eyebrows, is a line 2½" or 3"

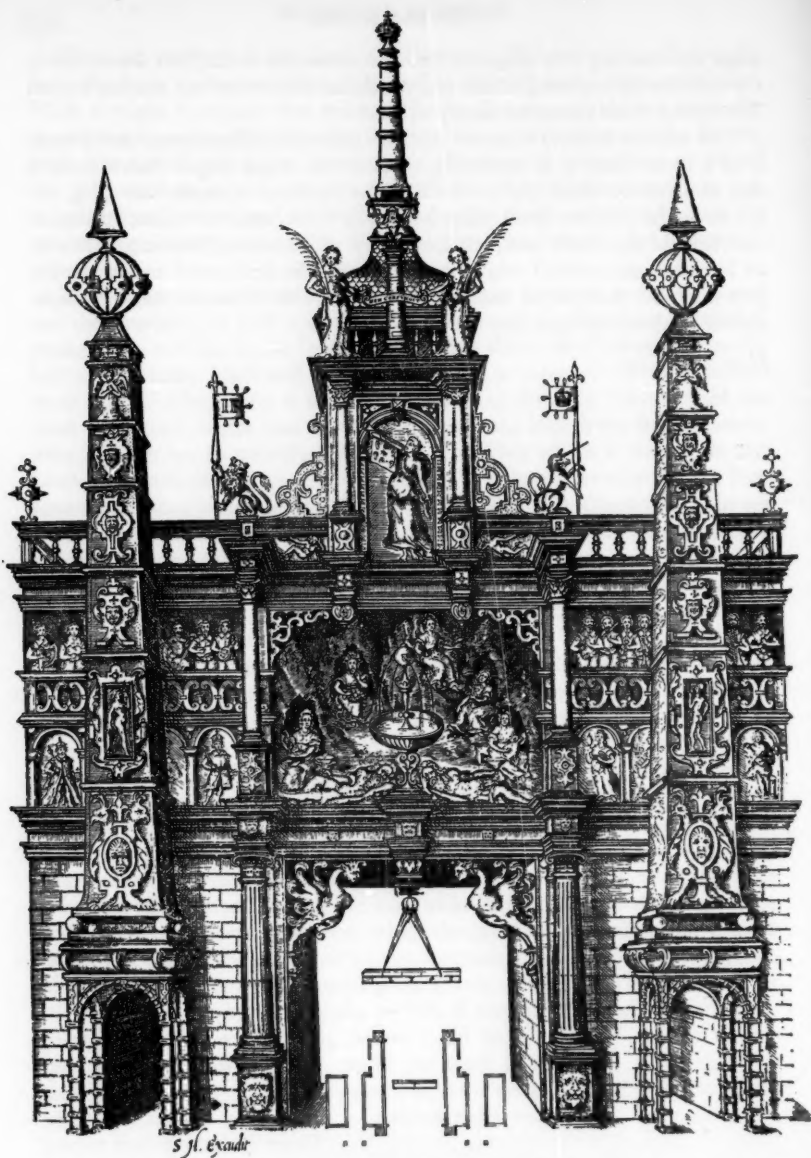
¹⁷ *The Title-page*, p. 12.

¹⁸ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

long, and running in a diagonal direction across the skull. This shows clearly the existence of a wound, a flesh cut, which has been sewed up, and has healed. The marks of the suture are clearly visible."

Has anyone hitherto observed that the face of the Shakespeare death-mask is of a form which is of maximum effectiveness on the stage? Such a form is that of a face in which the profile leads the audience to expect something different in the full-face from what is actually there, and vice versa, so that at each turn of the actor's head, beholders meet with surprise. Seen in profile with its forehead, supraorbital ridge, nose, and chin, the death-mask makes one expect a narrow face, rather than the generous width of mouth and the amplitude of forehead and eyes seen full-face.

New York City



Stephen Harrison: *Arches of Triumph* (1604), "Soper Lane, Cheapside". This arch was named *The New Arabia Foelix*, representing the Island of Britain. At the approach of the King, Fame sounded her trumpet. Below, Detraction and Oblivion wakened and battered the Fount of Vertue, a Laver that spouted wine. From beneath their hills the Five Senses awoke to defend the Fount, assisted by Circumspection. Fame, The Hours, and Euphrosyne (representing the Graces) addressed the King in verse. After a song, His Majesty resumed his progress. From the Folger Shakespeare Library copy. See pp. 102, 124, 164.

Cordelia and the Fool

THOMAS B. STROUP



So long ago as 1894 Professor Brandl¹ suggested that the parts of Cordelia and the Fool in *King Lear* were written for the same boy actor. Since then scholars have occasionally referred to this possibility, some thinking it quite likely, others finding it rather improbable.² Indeed one has gone so far as to argue "that the Fool in Shakespeare's *King Lear* is none other than Cordelia herself."³ I propose here to offer further arguments and educe more evidence to support the possibility—or likelihood—which Brandl suggested. In doing so I shall rehearse much that has already been written on the subject, but I believe what I have to add may explain some features of the text of the Folio as well as the dramatist's conception of the nature of his characters.

The suggestion of the doubling of the two parts arose as a means for explaining the disappearance of the Fool in Act III, as well, indeed, as for his failure to appear or even be mentioned in the first scene of the play. Miss Janet Spens thinks the parts were doubled because Cordelia and the Fool never appear on the stage at the same time, because the two roles call for the same kind of voices, and because there seems to have been a boy actor (some have suggested Armin) with a voice proper to the singing of the whimsical songs required by such roles as Ophelia, Desdemona, Feste, and the Fool in *Lear*. Actor aside, these are pertinent facts: Cordelia is banished in the first scene with truth for her dowry; the Fool appears 357 lines later (I. iv. 105); he speaks his last line, saying that he will "go to bed at noon" (III. vi. 91), a line not in the Quarto⁴, and is urged off the stage by Kent shortly thereafter (III. vi. 107), not to appear again—at least in his proper person. After a full scene of preparation for her return to the stage, and exactly 356 lines after the Fool's final exit, Cordelia makes her re-entry. Between Cordelia's exit and the Fool's entry the same number of lines are spoken as between the Fool's final exit and Cordelia's re-entry. Time is exactly meted out for some reason, probably for the change of costume and make-up, if

¹ Alois Brandl, *Shakespeare* (Berlin, 1894), p. 179. See also the same book revised as *Shakespeare: Leben, Umwelt, Kunst* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 369 ff.

² Among others Brander Matthews, *Shakespeare as Playwright* (New York, 1913), pp. 187-188, suggests that Wilson doubled as the Fool and Cordelia. Alwin Thaler, *Shakespeare's Silences* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 38, thinks it a plausible theory; whereas W. J. Lawrence, *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), pp. 72-73, thinks it unlikely on the ground that doubling was not customary for extensive roles. The editor of *The Tragedy of King Lear* (*Yale Shakespeare*, New Edition, revised by Tucker Brooke, 1917), p. 173, n., thinks that probably Armin took the two parts. Miss Janet Spens, *Elizabethan Drama* (London, 1922), p. 25, thinks the theory sound.

³ Arthur J. Stringer, "Was Cordelia the King's Fool?" *The Shakespeare Magazine*, III (Jan., 1897), 1-11. Disregarding the text, he argues that Cordelia disguises herself as the Fool and, like Edgar, cleaves to her foolish father.

⁴ Since Q2, 1619, was a reprint of Q1, 1608, I follow custom in referring to the two merely as "Quarto".

we can trust our reconstruction of the text of the play from the Quarto. The preciseness of this measuring has seemingly gone unnoticed hitherto.⁵ It may argue for the accuracy of the reconstruction of the text.

And these additions from the Quarto suggest other possibilities connected with our question. Chambers thinks the more than three hundred lines left out of the Folio were theatre cuttings. Expository or narrative in nature, they have to do with what went on in France or elsewhere, dialogues among servants, some of Edgar's rhymes, altercations between Albany and Goneril, etc., the greatest loss being the elimination altogether of IV. iii. All suggest the use of the stage version of the play for the text of the Folio.⁶ They suggest considerably more, I believe. They may well indicate a falling off of popularity of certain roles, especially those of Edgar, the Fool and Cordelia. Of these, some forty-two lines are taken from Edgar, including some of his best rhymes; some twenty-eight from the Fool; and some ninety from Kent and a Gentleman, many of which deal with Cordelia. Most of the rest are distributed among Lear, a few servants, and Goneril and Albany. The loss of some of the rich lines of Edgar and the Fool may argue poorer acting, and the excision of IV. iii, which reintroduces Cordelia, suggests the same possibility. New actors for these roles may not have played them so well as their creators. But more about this scene later.

Just now we must go back to other reasons for thinking Shakespeare wrote the two parts for the same actor. The careful reader notices, as Brandl, Bradley, and others have done, that a relationship exists between Cordelia and the Fool. This is first made apparent by the elaborate preparation for the Fool's first entrance. Lear calls for him repeatedly. First, he simply asks (I. iv. 45-46), "Where's my knave? my fool? Go you and call my fool hither." Twenty-five lines later he calls again for the Fool, saying he has not seen him these two days, and hears (what he already knows) from the knight that "Since my young lady's going into France, sir, the fool hath much pined away", to which he replies hurriedly and painfully, "No more of that; I have noted it well" (I. iv. 81).⁷ The audience by now are unusually well prepared for the entrance of the Fool, some sixty lines having been spoken since he was first mentioned and described as much pined away, following the departure of Cordelia. His pining away suggests the smallness of the person who will appear in the role, one perhaps no larger than the mistress to whom he was so deeply devoted. His size is again suggested by the first line Lear speaks to him: "How now my pretty knave? How dost thou?" (I. iv. 107). "Pretty knave" fits well the possibility of the double role, as does Lear's later references, some ten or a dozen of them, to the Fool as "boy" or "lad". Now the careful preparation for the initial appearance of a leading character is simply good play writing, whether in Shakespeare's day or in ours; but such an elaborate build-up, such lengthy ado for so short a role, is surprising altogether. If nothing more, it indicates an unusual self-consciousness about the

⁵ The text quoted in this paper is that of George Lyman Kittredge, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (Boston, 1936).

⁶ E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (Oxford, 1930), I, 467.

⁷ Arnold Isenberg, "Cordelia Absent", *SQ*, II (1951), 185, rightfully thinks that, though Cordelia is not on stage from I. i, to IV. iv, "She is continuously present both to Lear's mind and to ours." One might add that she is present, in one sense or another, in the person of the Fool. At this point Lear is suffering from what Isenberg calls "the torment of self-accusation".

Fool on the part of the poet. The deliberate and painstaking association of the Fool with Cordelia, the stress laid upon his devotion to her, prepares the audience for his bitterness, but it is not otherwise necessary to the plot. No crucial action depends upon it. What is more, the playwright finds it necessary to explain why the Fool has not been seen upon the stage hitherto: Lear has not seen him for two days, for he has been sulking and brooding over his lady's banishment. Thus the dramatist underscores the possibility of the single actor for the two parts, and the audience is prepared for a pretty boy to appear as the Fool, a person sympathetic to Cordelia who will assume her defence and also remind them of her person.

Not only that: the new role, not mentioned in the introductory court scene or even hinted at as normally it should have been, will afford the play a necessary balance of characters. The forces of evil are here poised, as critics have many times indicated, against the forces of good—though somewhat unequally. Goneril, Regan, and Edmund with Cornwall killed off early, are opposed by Kent, Edgar, Cordelia and the Fool. Gloucester balances Lear; Albany is a sort of neutral. But so far as this balance is concerned, Cordelia and the Fool function as one character. Never in the struggle at the same time, they serve really as one component force. And just as Kent, banished the Court, disguises himself in order to remain and serve his master, so Cordelia leaves her vicar, her devoted Fool, in a sense herself disguised, to take her place with her father. It is the Fool who utters her defence. He speaks what Lear thinks Cordelia would or should say to him; he gives verbal form to what Lear's conscience was uttering. Of Lear's words, "O fool, I shall go mad", Traversi has remarked, "It is no accident that this recognition, addressed to the Fool who is, in a sense, the mirror of his own broken consciousness, is followed immediately by the first outburst of the gathering storm."⁸ Such a mirror is his accusing conscience, and the accusations come from his best-loved daughter—or should come from her. In still another place Traversi observes that Lear and the Fool together "like separate fragments have something in common. The Fool represents for the 'royal Lear' the voice of reality which to his own ruin he had sought to ignore" (p. 194). Cordelia had also and most emphatically spoken out with that same voice of reality, however soft, gentle, and low it may have been. And the Fool, though in different inflections, continues her speeches, or what might have been her speeches. Indeed after their reunion Lear recognizes her right to such bitter talk:

If you have poison for me I will drink it.
I know you do not love me; for your sisters
Have, as I do remember, done me wrong.
You have some cause, they have not. (IV. vii. 72-75)

Doting upon her while she was with him, he has been too proud to listen to her voice of truth and reason; and one must add that she gave him some cause, some evidence of being her father's daughter. As Brandl, Swinburne, and others have said, she not a little resembles Antigone.

Once she is gone, the Fool supplies her place. He is first mentioned by Goneril, who asks Oswald: "Did my father strike my gentleman for chiding of his fool?" to which Oswald replies, "Ay, madam" (I. iii. 1-2). This opposition to

⁸ D. A. Traversi, *An Approach to Shakespeare* (New York, 1956), p. 190.

cruelty is Lear's first overt act against Goneril—or she takes it as such. Lear has instinctively taken the part of the lowly and innocent. He has unwittingly begun his own redemption, inasmuch as he has “done it unto one of the least of these my brethren”. It is also an unconscious return to Cordelia, for in defending the Fool he is defending what is most devoted to her, the very symbol and constant reminder of her. It is this realization of his injustice to her and his recognition of his own stubborn pride which brings him ironically at once to madness, to regeneration, and to peace of mind. And Cordelia's deputy, the Fool, is the instrument for all these. When finally, all passion spent, the King sleeps, his personified prick of conscience is no longer necessary. So the Fool leaves appropriately without a word.⁹

In yet another sense the Fool resembles Cordelia and is associated in Lear's mind with her. In the storm scene Lear refers to the Fool as “you houseless poverty” (III. iv. 26). So might he have referred to his daughter, for had he not given her nothing for dowry and shut her out of doors, even as he himself is now shut out? And had the Fool not reminded him, as Lothian reminds us,¹⁰ that “Nothing can be made of nothing”, the very warning Lear gave to Cordelia? Has he not placed her in the same position as his Fool? And does not his distraught mind at this moment agonizingly recall his sin against his daughter? He made her a houseless poverty, and the Fool is her image before him, her *alter ego*. Here Shakespeare has achieved an unusual, if not a unique, set of identities: the Fool in that he represents Lear's conscience to himself, his inner voice, thereby represents Cordelia.

We are ready now to come back to the excision of IV. iii. After the Fool leaves the stage and the play (III. vi. 107), Cordelia returns but not for some 356 lines (IV. iv). In preparation for her return we are given in the Quarto the somewhat obtrusive expository third scene; we do not find it in the Folio. To reduce speeches here and there, to lop off lines of narrative, is not uncommon; to cut a complete scene is uncommon. Why such wholesale cutting? In the scene Kent meets a gentleman, who explains that the King of France has returned to his kingdom, leaving M. La Far and Cordelia to conduct the campaign against Goneril and Regan. The rest, about forty-five lines, gives an account of Lear's remorse and of Cordelia's doings since her banishment. It sketches her character and provides an elaborate preparation for her entrance. But it is unnecessary to the plot or to the audience's understanding of the plot. It is exactly parallel in purpose to the build-up for the Fool's first entrance (I. iv). Just as the Fool had been characterized and the inception of Lear's remorse indicated in that scene, so in this one Cordelia is characterized and Lear's final remorse described. The commingling of Cordelia's smiles and tears in anticipation of reconciliation with her father, matches the Fool's wit and grief as described before he comes on. The scene emphasizes the affinity of the two roles; and yet, if the two were played by the same actor, the audience must dissociate the person now appearing as Cordelia from the person recently appearing as the Fool. This scene provides

⁹ Among others Thümmel, Brandl, and Ey have noted that the Fool functions as a Greek chorus, reflecting the audience's feeling. See Julius Thümmel, “Ueber Shakespeare's Narren”, *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, 1874, p. 99; Alois Brandl, *Shakespeare* (Berlin, 1894), p. 179; and Ad. Ey, “Der Narr im König Lear”, *Archiv für das Studium der neuen Sprachen und Literaturen*, LXIV (1880), 270.

¹⁰ John M. Lothian, *King Lear: A Tragic Reading of Life* (Toronto, 1949), p. 52.

just such dissociation. The affinity of the two is still well enough indicated to make plausible the appearance of the same person in them, and it is also plausible that Shakespeare wrote this scene chiefly to provide for the change of roles. Its intrusion allowed additional time for the change of costume and make-up. Indeed, its abrupt introduction into the play suggests that the dramatist may have written it after the play was in rehearsal and when he found the need for more time for the actor to make his changes. Later, when the two roles were no longer played by one actor but given to two, the scene was no longer necessary either for time or for the introduction of the changed Cordelia. Hence its complete omission from the Folio. Here is possible evidence of the text of a play being modified or conditioned by the exigencies of theatrical production. It is not implausible.

Nor is it implausible to suggest other affinities of the two roles. Wronged and hurt, the innocent Fool, nevertheless, remains faithful to his master, seeing beyond the old man's folly and unhesitatingly suffering with him. Likewise Cordelia, having heard of Lear's plight, returns only to save her father and for no other reason:

O dear father

It is thy business that I go about. . . .

No blown ambition doth our arms incite,

But love, dear love, and our ag'd father's right. (IV. iv. 23-28)

Her whole interest centers in his redemption. The echo from St. Luke's Gospel (iv:49) is conscious: The power and the kingdom are not for her, any more than they are for the Fool. Going with her father to the prison, she moves unhesitatingly to her own sacrifice for him, and joyously to "tell old tales and laugh/ At gilded butterflies." She is here as houseless as ever the Fool was and as utterly devoted as he—without his bitterness. Like him she leaves the stage without taking leave, not to return alive. And finally in death she and the Fool are united, I believe, at least in Lear's mind. Much has been said in explanation of the ambiguous line as he holds the dead body of Cordelia in his arms: "And my poor fool is hang'd." But editors generally agree that it refers to Cordelia, not the Fool. Like the editor of the Yale edition of *King Lear*,¹¹ I see no reason for excluding the Fool. The body in the King's arms may well have been that of both, and the ambiguity of the line quite intentional. The phrase "poor fool" may well have had its overtones, recalling the voice soft, gentle, and low, not only of Cordelia, but of the innocent, bitter boy who sang old songs if he did not tell old tales. It indicates an "association in Lear's mind between his child and the Fool who so loved her"—but not perhaps "confused" association, as Bradley suggest.¹² If this is true, the two come together to furnish a poignant close and account for what happened in the end to one of Shakespeare's finest characters.

If the parts of Cordelia and the Fool were written for the same actor, one can then offer a reasonable explanation for the unusual preparation for the first entrance of the Fool, for the omission of IV. iii, and for other cuttings from the

¹¹ See note 2 above. The editor (p. 185) says the line is "more telling if the roles of Cordelia and the Fool were linked and Lear were felt by the audience to be taking leave of both of them."

¹² A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy* (New York, 1957), p. 251.

Folio; can find a double meaning in "And my poor fool is hang'd" and account for the end of the Fool, however unusual the accounting. Such likelihood points up the balance of forces in the play and emphasizes the themes of regeneration and redemption through the sacrifice of the Fool and Cordelia. It may also reveal the craftsman modifying his work so as to take advantage of the best talent available for production. The fact that an actor of the company could sing well a special kind of song or handle nonsense effectively may have controlled somewhat the text, the plot, and the tone of the play; it may have enabled the dramatist to achieve heights of expression not otherwise conceived. The possibility that Brandl, Miss Spens, Thaler, and others have suggested seems all the more probable once we look fully into its implications.

The University of Kentucky

Shakespeare and Gielgud, Co-Authors of Men

FLORENCE WARNER BROWN



AFTER God, Shakespeare created most", remarked Goethe, referring to the galaxy of recognizable human beings animating the Shakespearian plays. The characters are so imbued with living qualities that Boris Pasternak, who has translated most of the plays into Russian, says in perhaps unconscious irony that the greatness of Shakespeare lies in the free independent spirit with which almost all his characters face life.

However, the passage of almost four centuries has left a patina of old custom upon the plays. A film has fallen between us and many of the characters in the gallery outlined by Shakespeare's pen. The mode of life has changed, and the style of speech has followed it. Thought has shifted from a poetic to a scientific base, from polysyllabic pentameter to a crisp, staccato phrasing. The flamboyant dress has been simplified and diversified. The modest, charming cottages have been streamlined to boxy ranch houses, the palatial ones blown up to huge functional beehives. Perhaps the prophetic vision of Shakespeare is revealed when he lets Prospero foresee the "cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples" that make up the Manhattan skyline today. But for us lesser folk to find ourselves at home with the congregation of his characters in the situations of their own time is not so easy. What we need is one, an interpreter, who will polish away the patina, will identify himself with Shakespearian men, and will discipline himself to speak the antiquated patterns with sufficient skill and intuition to make them live again.

Such an interpreter is Sir John Gielgud, the English actor who has both directed and played in a large repertory of Shakespearian plays in his homeland. He has performed in only two full-length plays by our author in New York, *Hamlet* in 1936, which had a record run, even while competing with Leslie Howard's version, and *Much Ado About Nothing* in September-October, 1959. However, he brought a full gallery of twenty-five selections, revealing Shakespearian characters at brief but poignant moments of their lives, to the 46th Street Theater during January and February of 1959. And now "Columbia Masterworks" has recorded the major portion of *Ages of Man* on a long-playing record that can be procured at a modest price by students and teachers, schools and libraries.

The Gielgud Hamlet revealed in abundance the personable qualities one looks for in the young prince and has found in leading actors from Forbes Robertson through Walter Hampden, John Barrymore, Leslie Howard, and others who have graced the New York stage. He had the lithe, youthful figure, the mobile, poetic face, the strong talent in portraying the many-faceted char-

acter that ever fascinates the audience. Gielgud could match the others in impassioned speech, but in the cultivated excellence of voice as an instrument for speaking the poetic verse he was unique. One finds oneself listening to him as to a virtuoso on the violincello, so great is his perfection of this art, and so clear and lucid his speech. This must have been a chief appeal of the actor in Shakespeare's day, when there was so little else to convey the dramatic theme, no scenery, no lights, no realism of dress or properties, no distance to lend enchantment: there was hardly more than the actor and his passion, and his musical speech upon the bare boards extending out into the midst of the audience. In this respect, especially, is Gielgud able to polish the patina of time from a character and recreate one of Shakespeare's men.

Sir John himself has spoken with great clarity, simplicity and point on the problems of speaking the Shakespearian lines, acting the plays, and creating those high and moving moments when he identifies not only himself but the audience with the characters.

He quotes Bernard Shaw, as music critic turned drama critic, as saying, "Shakespeare must be acted with the lines and on the lines but never in between the lines" (*Theater Arts Magazine*, "On Acting Shakespeare", January, 1959) and confirms this view from his own experience, saying young players "need first to learn how to stand still and speak beautifully, without fidgeting or byplay. It is impossible to perform Shakespeare with authority and conviction unless one trusts to the pattern of the language to sustain the lines, building up to and down from the climax of speech and scene." Dissecting the plays realistically and psychologically serves to confuse, rather than to clarify, he finds: young people should rather be acting the parts "with boldness and imagination". He finds, too, that the director who directs too much attention to "choreography and liveliness may lead away from the actual texture and quality of the words. But if the words are delivered under proper orchestral harmony and control, they can have more effect than anything else. . . . There are many passages in Shakespeare that really are arias. If the necessary intensity, subtlety, character and truth are to be given them, the audience must not be distracted by too much movement on the stage." However, this reviewer felt that Sir John must have given a good deal of thought to the musical cadence of the several voices, and to the balletic sweep of the characters together and apart again, as these contributed to the shimmer and living movement of the performance, and remained to delight the mind long after the flimsy story and most of the stock characters had disappeared from consciousness. The sparkling vitality and joyous interplay of Benedick and Beatrice, however, remain undimmed in the memory.

"Shakespeare Belongs on a Stage, Not Under Microscopic Analysis", wrote John Gielgud in an article for the *Herald Tribune*, August 9, 1959. From his own experience with Shakespearian scholars in the theatre, Gielgud found that textual analysis and criticism of the plays, though he thought it fascinating in itself, serves to confuse rather than to illumine the actors. Trying to fit the plays into a logical time-plot is also valueless. "The fact of the matter is that Shakespeare was a born story-teller, and his characters very rarely behave out of character for the purposes of the play he wished to write. The anachronisms and discrepancies are only to be discovered if one examines the plays with a

microscope. As one sees them acted (if they are properly staged and performed) one is carried away by the swift unfolding of the action and the vivid freshness of the personages—such a huge gallery of wonderfully imagined characters—that one suspends one's analytical judgment and surrenders wholeheartedly to the play itself." His advice to the actors is to trust the author: "If the actors use their imagination and speak the lines they are given with true rhythm, appreciation and understanding, they will carry out the poet's intention. But they must not seek for too subtle motives and worry themselves and their performances to death. Their own instinct and musical sense are often much more useful than their brains. Shakespeare wrote for a full orchestra and demanded musicians who had control and a high standard of virtuosity in using their instruments to the best advantage." His advice to the actor is even more exquisitely phrased in the *Theater Arts Magazine* article already quoted: "The natural simplicity that abounds in Shakespeare must continually alternate with the rich rhetorical loftiness of the text, and the actor must somehow capture the two simultaneously in his performance." His originality in finding a modern touchstone for giving timeliness to the selections is described in the same article as follows, "The world goes so fast that at each decade there is a sort of different note in the air. One must find it. When he has found it, he reinterprets the text. This is not a matter of complete reinterpretation but one of approaching the play with real spontaneity and joy so that it has an absolutely topical effect." A close study of his reading of lines yields several examples of a reinterpretation with "spontaneity and joy" that has a "topical effect".

Gielgud conceives Hamlet as an alert, sensitive, meditative youth, quick to speak, but slow to act on impulse in a way that may hurt others. This concept of Hamlet gives support to Ophelia's regard for him as "the glass of fashion and the mold of form", and to the love which Claudius says the people hold for him, and to his own obvious dislike of murder, which causes him to delay in sweeping to his revenge. Thus Gielgud's fresh, imaginative reading of the part made Hamlet a modern young man, subtle of understanding, hating war, with a message of truth for our day. The Gielgud Hamlet, for instance, did not wear a sword in the play scene, but when he found the king at prayer, and saw the king's sword lying on the floor beside him, he seized it, resolved to slay him. Then, loath to send him to heaven, he postponed action till the prayer was over, and proceeded on his way to his interview with Gertrude. There the sword was ready in his hand for the fatal stabbing of the skulking Polonius.

In reading Hamlet's farewell to Claudius as he was being sent off to England (IV. iii), the Gielgud Hamlet impishly threw the king a kiss from half way up the stairs as he called him "Mother". This is a modern cynical touch, in harmony with the prankish mood in which Hamlet has just joked coarsely about the body of Polonius, and more topical than Sir Laurence Olivier's reading of the lines when he said with a heavy insulting tone, "Man and wife is *one flesh*; therefore, my mother!"

By many another fresh, imaginative device did Gielgud modernize and humanize his portrayal of the prince of Elsinore. And the links thus forged between the Hamlet of Shakespeare's creating and the audience of the twentieth century were measured in strength by the length of the run of this production, the longest in New York annals.

Benedick, Gielgud's second full-length portrait for New Yorkers, is another he has touched with contemporary gloss. His boastfulness is interlined with laughter, his raillery of others with kindness, and his thorny attitude toward women with a susceptible heart. One recognizes in him many a young man of one's acquaintance who guards his independence and his privacy with a sharp wit, and yet is still on the lookout for that perfect doting she, such as was handed to Benedick in Beatrice. The New York critics were rapturous in their welcome of these two (Gielgud and Margaret Leighton), who "keep a bubble in the air" and who "pass quicksilver back and forth" in glee.

Many lines in *Much Ado* are given a topical twist by Gielgud's direction. One, for instance, in Benedick's speech renouncing interest in women, till he finds one that comprises all possible virtues and beauties, the very last line, the reading emphasized the next to the last word with ironical significance. "And her hair shall be what color *God* wills", not only shows the oft-found dislike for heavy make-up in women that Shakespeare shows in *Hamlet* and in *Twelfth Night*; it is a topical allusion to the fashion at the moment of girls' bleaching streaks in their hair at the temples, or dyeing them different colors. Benedick's observation, scepticism and wit are rendered timely and topical by Gielgud.

The Columbia Masterworks' recently-issued long-playing record of fifteen from the twenty-five selections composing Gielgud's *Ages of Man* program permits one to listen to the vibrant violincello voice and to share in empathy the poignant experiences of these men as freshly created by Gielgud. The record is accompanied by a printed copy of the spoken text as taken from George Ryland's *Shakespeare's Anthology*. The record will be a boon to Shakespeare scholars, teachers and students for a long time to come.

A few more timely modern touches may be found in these selections. The Gielgud Mercutio laughs mockingly at the lovelorn Romeo, as he says, "O, then, I see Queen Mab hath been with you. . . . She gallops by night through lovers' brains, and then they dream of love", with a chuckle at Romeo's discomfiture.

Gielgud's Hotspur hisses out his scorn of a foppish messenger sent him by King Henry IV, "to be so pestered with a popinjay".

Gielgud's masterful identification of himself with the sad and moving role of King Richard II is famous. This reading takes on contemporary tragic overtones, as one relates it to the tyrants and kings who have fallen in our day, or who may yet fall:

And my large kingdom for a little grave,
A little, little grave, an obscure grave.

One hears the choking sob and senses the tears of Gielgud here, and follows the self-pity to its rising climax when he shatters the mirror at his feet, and cries in woe, "As brittle as the glory, is the face."

A flashing modern insight into the man, Shakespeare, as revealed in the Sonnets, is given in Gielgud's reading of a few of them. For instance, Sonnet CXVI, beginning, "Let me not to the marriage of true minds Admit impediments", Gielgud closes with a quiet, strong conviction of tone, "If this be error and upon my prov'd, I never writ and no man ever lov'd." However, a few sonnets later, Shakespeare designed Sonnet CXXX to scoff at the fulsome praise of

much contemporary sonnetry. Gielgud reads it with a humorous modern twist of the voice:

I grant I never saw a goddess go,
My mistress, when she walks, treads *on the ground*.

The difference between the Gielgud approach and that of other notable Shakespearian actors can perhaps best be pointed up by comparative readings of *Lear*. Orson Welles, in his presentation of *King Lear* over television in 1953, and also on the City Center stage in 1956, unveiled a monolithic Lear who supped on horror after horror until towards the end one longed for a bit of Elizabethan relief from the unmitigated heaping of Grecian tragedy.

Louis Calhern, who played a wonderfully impressive and highly acclaimed Lear at the National Theater in January of 1950, had quite a different concept of the actor's duty toward the mad king. He, it seemed to me, was inspired by the theatrical doctrine taught to the young Ellen Terry by the great nineteenth-century tragedian, Louis Calvert: "Play for the opposites!" Many an actor have I observed successfully carrying a heavy part by shouldering an easy yoke of opposites. Louis Calhern, in addition to the heavy burden of woe, cruelty, hatred, fury, shock, madness, grief, that Welles was staggering under, shouldered at the other end of his yoke a full complement of kinder emotions that, though not explicit in the text, may be found implicit there: humor, tenderness, pity, love, etc. For instance, when Calhern charged Lear's daughters to tell him how much they loved him, as he held the map of his kingdom to tear it into thirds for them, he assumed a tone of bantering humor, typical of tyrannical parents. This teasing mood brought out a stubborn negativism in Cordelia, which in turn provoked annoyance and anger in Lear. This mutual reaction seemed a commonplace in the family, and the characters became credible and human.

But Sir John deals not in such a rule-of-thumb device of balance. His dying Lear seems to voice all the mingled griefs and fantasies of those standing at death's threshold. Tears are running down his cheeks and we respond with tears, as our own inner chords of grief are touched. "Howl, howl, howl!" the Gielgud voice is rising in anguish. "This feather stirs; she lives!" is spoken with a cry of joy. "Cordelia, Cordelia! Stay a little", the voice is falling with infinite tenderness and appeal. "I kill'd the slave that was a-hanging thee!" is cried in triumphant anger. "Pray you, undo this button", is the pitiful call for help, a choking cry of an old man losing his breath.

In the last few words of *Lear*, Gielgud reveals a spiritual hope, as the old king's dying vision seems to find a response in Cordelia's face, "Look on her, look, . . . her lips . . . Look there, look—there!" The last word is spoken with a soft, peaceful falling of the voice as his head falls upon the breast of Cordelia. It is a long, long moment before anyone in the audience can lift his head or his hand to brush his own wet eyes. The audience has entered too deeply into the moment of grief to be moved to applause. It is a moment of incredible illumination and beauty.

Mr. Gielgud explains more fully the way an actor perfects such art in "The Urge to Act" (*The New York Times Magazine*, February 14, 1960, p. 50). He states that by constant self-discipline, selectivity and precision the actor may oc-

casionally for a moment, "convince the audience that he knows more about that emotion than they do. . . . The moment is his creation . . . he has felt it, expressed it, judged the length of time he can hold it . . . his moment of truth."

For these several reasons, then: for his selfless high fidelity in speaking Shakespeare's verse, for the spontaneity, joy and topical effect with which he bodies forth the large gallery of Shakespearian characters for a modern audience, and for his having given a lasting incarnation of their "moment of truth" in his readings of many of these characters on a Columbia disk, we may surely recognize Sir John as with Shakespeare, "Co-Author of men".¹

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¹ Since the manuscript went to press, Part Two of Gielgud's *Ages of Man* has been issued with the title, *One Man in his Time*.

Reviews

Shakespeare and the Craft of Tragedy. By WILLIAM ROSEN. Harvard University Press, 1960. Pp. [xiv] + 231. \$4.75.

Although recognizing the worth of specialized Shakespearian criticism, Prof. Rosen thinks that it may tend to become too minute and exclusive and divert our attention from the play itself and the elements that are primary in it. He therefore prefers to concentrate on the study of the structure and the dramatic technique, which he finds mainly responsible for the specific reactions of the audience to play and personage.

He limits his study to four tragedies, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Coriolanus*. The four chosen plays, the author tells us in his Preface, "represent two different methods of characterization: the so-called Christian tragedies, *King Lear* and *Macbeth*, are so constructed that rapport is established between audience and protagonist; in the Roman tragedies, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, that rapport is to a great extent missing. The contrast in Shakespeare's handling of point of view explains why these plays communicate different kinds of experience" (p. x). In each of the four chapters on the tragedies Prof. Rosen repeatedly shows how Shakespeare from the start provides his audience with a certain view of the hero and a premonition of the problems he will have to face. Before or a little after the hero appears on the stage, some talk of secondary characters will present him and reveal more conspicuous traits of his personality from some vantage point, and very often throw light on the dramatic situation involving him. All this is done by means of subtle, artistic devices, which in certain cases may be likened, as Prof. Rosen has pointed out, to the "reflector" technique used by Henry James in his novels. Henceforward the angles of analysis will shift, so as to focus attention on other facets of the hero's personality, as well as on other aspects of his ordeal. In his study of *Coriolanus*, Prof. Rosen largely illustrates this technique of multiple view of a single central character.

In *Coriolanus*, as in the other Shakespearian tragedies, all the various opinions and comments by different characters about the central protagonist, diverse and even contradictory as they may appear, seeing that they spring from friends and foes, will nevertheless converge to a rather rounded off picture of his personality as seen from the outside, which, in the course of the play, his self revelation by different means may to some extent confirm or modify. Now the audience's final perspective of the hero will depend, not only on the combination of traits provided by the analyses and comments of the *dramatis personae*, but also on the balance between the whole of that external view and all that is deduced from the hero's behavior and words, mainly from the soliloquies revealing his motives, his psychic difficulties, his emotional responses, his inner world.

Prof. Rosen's main thesis in his book is that, according to the predominance of the external or the internal mode of presentation of the hero, the audience will tend to feel more or less detached from or involved in his fate; the hero in turn may tend either to be labeled as a particular character or to defy all definitions except that of Man, the microcosm. In the last chapter Prof. Rosen hints that such a status was, at least temporarily, attained by Lear, Hamlet, Othello, and Macbeth, but not by Antony and Coriolanus.

Prof. Rosen is emphatic in his assertion of the supreme excellence of *King Lear* among Shakespeare's tragedies, for "it is the most universal". As Lear is gradually deprived of royal power and honors, robbed of superfluous values, stripped of social trappings and all his "lendings", he returns to essential man. His private suffering is universalized; at the end his spiritual achievement represents the victory of human nobility and dignity, and he dies the ideal man.

Nevertheless, even in cases when the hero falls away from the ideal, he may still, at least for moments, transcend the frame of his private personality and identify himself with humankind, and consequently with any of us. As Lear's final holocaust mirrors the side of heroic endurance and greatness of man, so Macbeth's final defeat re-enacts the fall of man, the victory of evil over the human spirit. In any case the hero's story will expand into a tragic picture of life. Referring to *Macbeth*, Prof. Rosen says that Shakespeare "shifts our view from the fact of murder and its public consequences, from the social and political situation rooted in a particular time and place, to the spiritual, a timeless realm, giving to Macbeth's personal life universal significance". The critic quotes Arthur Sewall, who has said that Macbeth is a soul in hell, "and we know a little more about hell because Macbeth has had a glimpse of it" (p. 80).

At the other pole from *King Lear*, from the point of view of Prof. Rosen's study, is *Coriolanus*, who, in his opinion, from beginning to end remains a private character. What happens to *Coriolanus* has little bearing on what happens to man, and his tragedy will hardly compel us to ask "What is man?" or "What am I?" or "What is evil?" or "Where does redemption lie?"

Prof. Rosen reminds us that a preliminary condition for the audience to feel identified with the hero is that they should know a great deal about him. Among other reasons, that one would suffice to account for our deeper concern about Macbeth's fate than about Duncan's or even Banquo's—a fact which dismisses the hypothesis of involvement through moral approval. However, our knowledge of the hero ought to be acquired from the inside, for if we learn about him from the outside, i.e., by his actions and the estimate of others, we shall tend to an objective evaluation in terms of abstract though legitimate values, which will prevent deeper involvement and consequent identification. As the tribunes in *Coriolanus* manipulate Roman public opinion, they can also manipulate ours.

In *Macbeth*, Prof. Rosen remarks, Shakespeare was careful to alternate people's judgment of the hero's crimes with the persuading soliloquies in which he expresses his moral confusion, his "black and deep desires", his consciousness of his downfall. By this means Shakespeare manages to secure our participation in the tragedy of a great personage dwindling through moral degradation to pigmy size. Prof. Rosen rejects the interpretation of our involvement as romantic attraction to daring rebels and daemonic characters, or solely as the result of Shakespeare's creation of a special, unnatural atmosphere combined with the artistic interplay of recurring themes and images. The chief secret of Macbeth's enchanting power over his audience, the critic thinks, is his self knowledge and awareness of his sins and his tragedy. Because other characters describe the tyrant to us, we are happy that he falls; because he externalizes the findings of his self-scrutiny, he fascinates us. Had we failed to get a true insight into his soul, his soliloquies would likewise have failed to move our deepest feelings. *Coriolanus* often speaks about himself, but his speeches hardly help us to sympathize with his inner tragedy; nay, they hardly convince us that there was a tempest in his mind raging simultaneously with the political storms outside. Prof. Rosen holds that our final impression is rather of an external commo-

tion in which Coriolanus acts almost mechanically, in accordance with personal formulae and codes, whose legitimacy he never investigates. In the world of Shakespearian tragedy he is the opposite to Hamlet. Highly imbued with the consciousness of his heroic qualities and moral integrity, Coriolanus is nevertheless blind to his virtues turned vices and to his part of responsibility in his own tragedy. His speeches serve only to ratify, not only everybody's high estimation of his military merit, but also their denunciation of his pride and of his aristocratic, egocentric nature.

The chapter on *Antony and Cleopatra* is one of the most personal studies in Prof. Rosen's book. He disagrees with those critics who interpret the play as a glorification of love. He is also convinced that Shakespeare has arranged the tragedy in a way that "all the techniques of character portrayal circumscribe Antony's personality and destiny; he becomes, not a dynamic figure, but a caricature whose features Enobarbus etches, constantly framing him for our proper assessment". Though dimly conscious of what is happening to him, Antony does not fully understand his plight, nor does he ever try to. He will rather evade self-analysis in revelry. Prof. Rosen thinks it is chiefly the magnificent language of the play that sometimes casts on hero and heroine the halo of a greatness which does not inhere in them. What Antony says of love is superb poetry; nevertheless, Shakespeare has set it against an endless choric commentary which tones down the rapture of the audience, the love scenes themselves being incessantly subjected to Enobarbus' cold, cynical asides. There is no balcony scene in this play, in which the lovers are made the focal point; and for the audience there is no final irrefutable conviction that the love uniting Antony and Cleopatra was the ultimate value outdoing all. "When Antony approaches his death, for the first time in the play all *raisonneurs* fall away", Prof. Rosen notices, and the audience's rapport with him consequently deepens. However, his last words are an evocation of his best self in a past heroic time previous to his enslavement to Cleopatra's charms. And it is that Antony of by-gone days that is exalted and bewailed by those who surround him in his last moments, a detail which confirms Prof. Rosen's assertion that "Antony's heroic past is significantly the only unquestioned ideal in the play" (p. 112).

As to Cleopatra, Prof. Rosen does not believe in her final transfiguration through love, nor does he seem to be on the side of those she has bewitched. He thinks that a repeated allusion to "playing" in Act II "illuminates Cleopatra's character as well as her relationship with Antony" (p. 151). "Acting is part of her", says the critic, and "finally her act of suicide is at once the consummate escape from the world and her most accomplished self-dramatization" (p. 150). "There is no sharp discontinuity between the Cleopatra of the early scenes and the Cleopatra of the play's finale; she has not undergone any great change in vision or personality. But now there are no caustic commentators who stand about her to prefigure action, guide judgment or tear aside illusions, to uncover hypocrisy or self-deception. It is the radical shift in the point of view established towards Cleopatra that brings about audience rapport with her and helps explain why so many critics have insisted that an entirely new Cleopatra emerges in the last scenes" (pp. 157, 158). It sounds too strict, perhaps. Prof. Rosen makes no allowance for Cleopatra's probably sincere "immortal longings". At least it does not seem that Shakespeare at the end has intended to deprive her of her own greatness.

In any case, and in conclusion, though we may disagree with this or that point of Prof. Rosen's thesis, it is undoubtedly a pleasure to read his thoughtful, illuminating analysis of plays and personages. A great virtue of the book is

found in Prof. Rosen's unassuming, yet clever, lucid, sensitive way of treating his subject, and in his inviting direct approach—the play is the thing—forcing the reader to no digressions into the labyrinthine bypaths of specialized scholarship.

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AÍLA DE OLIVEIRA GOMES

A Grammar of Metaphor. By CHRISTINE BROOKE-ROSE. London: Secker and Warburg, 1958. Pp. [xii] + 343. 42 s.

This book is exciting because it breaks new ground and offers critics a new tool in analyzing that most fascinating of aesthetic phenomena, the way in which form can affect and enhance meaning. The author has the rare gift of fusing scientific and literary perceptiveness. Basing her study on selected texts of fifteen English poets from Chaucer to Dylan Thomas, she can present a report complete and precise within these limits. One might question whether *Endymion*, Bk. I, shows Keats's metaphoric language at his best, but *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Absalom and Achitophel* are particularly well chosen for the purpose.

Because this study is unique, it seems advisable in a brief review to indicate the techniques employed and some of the conclusions the author reaches (pp. 289-323) concerning these poets.

While engaged in the study of Middle English and Old French poetry, Miss Brooke-Rose was impressed by the consistency with which particular grammatical relationships produce and vary the metaphoric effects. For example, the definite article implies recognition and subconsciously challenges the reader to decode the metaphor to learn the proper term when that is unstated. The indefinite article gives a more restful atmosphere; it produces the expectation of further statement and sometimes a sense of mystery. Wordsworth shows a marked preference for it. The copula is so direct (A is B) that it can be used for highly original metaphors or paradoxical equations because its authoritative tone inclines the reader to accept the identification, however odd it may be. Donne illustrates the most varied and frequent use of it. Eliot does not use it in *The Wasteland* at all; nothing must ever be stated. A is not B; at most A symbolizes B, could mean B. Because the verb *to make* states the process of changing the proper term into metaphor, it is less dogmatic in tone than the copula, more active, more convincing, as if a visible fairy turned the pumpkin into a coach before our eyes: "I . . . o'er green Neptune's back / With ships made cities." Shakespeare excels in this forceful device, and Spenser uses it and the easily personifying genitive link to create a fairy atmosphere. Apposition and the vocative imply identification without the copula. In Shakespeare, the idea that one thing can be some quite different thing, merely by saying so, comes fully into its own: "The noble ruin of her magic, Antony." An effective use of apposition with the colon is Milton's "she eat: Earth felt the wound." An adjective which applies only to the unmentioned proper term acts as a link to it: "Egyptian fetters". A metaphoric adjective may be joined with the vocative: "Usurious God of Love". Since his vision is allegorical and emblematic, Dryden can use apposition and the definite article to help sustain a poem moving on two parallel levels.

The verb-metaphor changes one noun into another implicitly. The transitive verb can thus change its subject, its object, its indirect object, and even all three. It is a close second (1237 in the selected texts) to the genitive link (1298), which is the most frequent type of metaphor. In Anglo-Saxon, intransitive

verbs are much more frequently metaphoric than the transitive. Pope leads these poets in his preference for this native trait, which Chaucer, Blake, and Keats also favor, whereas Spenser prefers the transitive verb metaphor.

Among the more subtle forms of equation is parallelism, which may be reinforced by a *when/then* formula: "when valour preys on reason, / It eats the sword it fights with." Even pure parallelism can imply a similarity between disparate things: "Blown harshly, keeps the trump its golden cry? / Tastes sweet the water with such specks of earth?" In its extreme form, as Pound uses it, parallelism becomes mere juxtaposition, which, though effective, takes us further away from metaphor than any other method. In Browning Miss Brooke-Rose sees the beginning of the "objective correlative", replacements that are literal symbols. The sense of metaphoric language, of words interacting syntactically on one another in order to change each other, all but dies. Through his far-reaching influence (she credits him, however, with compensating influences), we get, on the one hand, Pound and Eliot with their masks and juxtapositions of disparate facts, and, on the other, Hopkins and Thomas, forcing the metaphoric capacities of language, developing especially adverbs and prepositions. Only Yeats manages to absorb the dichotomy, to fuse Keats and Browning within himself without producing either Pound or Eliot. Eliot has stretched the technique of simple replacement and allusions as far as it will go. The activity is not in his language but in his architecture, not in the effect of words on one another, but in the juxtaposition of connotations.

Thomas, unlike Eliot, relies on the interaction of words. There is seldom any progression, no architecture as in Eliot; rather, his varied metaphoric terms, like a fugue and variations, orchestrate the same theme. He is the most highly metaphoric of the fifteen poets. More than any other he adds verb metaphor to noun metaphor, sometimes destroying the noun metaphor. His poetic style is the strange but logical result of the influence, on the one hand, of Shakespeare, Keats, and Hopkins, and, on the other, of Blake, Yeats, and Eliot—the fusion of grammatical metaphor and symbolism. Yeats and Eliot owe much to Browning and he to Dryden. Yeats explores the formal possibilities of English syntax more than any other modern poet. He goes back to Donne in his use of grammar, and Keats to Spenser. Chaucer's fusion of native and foreign elements is behind them all, especially behind Pope and his strong feeling for verb metaphor. It is difficult to see how the exploitation of metaphoric language can go much further, and the present mood seems to be to pick up where Pope left off. Poets and critics are likely to advert consciously to the range of subtle artistic effects inherent in this new grammar of metaphor.

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The Heart of Hamlet: The Play Shakespeare Wrote. By BERNARD GREBANIER. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1960. Pp. [xii] + 490. \$3.75.

This garrulous and incoherent book is frequently engaging, which may disguise momentarily the excessiveness of Professor Grebanier's claim to have a new theory of *Hamlet* that Shakespeare will surely approve of "when we meet in the Elysian Fields". Chapter One establishes the *ethos* of the speaker by arguing that the play has been consistently misinterpreted and that the new theory has been thirty years in the making. Chapter Two presents a conventional Aristotelian account of tragedy, designed to provide the criteria by which *Hamlet* will later be evaluated. Chapter Three, replete with 287 documentary footnotes, is a summary and mockery of the *corpus* of *Hamlet* criticism, with

special attention to those critics who attribute to Hamlet either actual or feigned madness, and those who imagine that Hamlet is guilty of delay. Chapter Four undertakes to correct the critics. Chapter Five offers an interpretation of the action of *Hamlet*, and Chapter Six an interpretation of its leading characters. Insofar as a new theory of the play is advanced, it arises out of the central argument that Hamlet neither is mad, feigns madness nor delays; and it can be seen that this argument is distributed in disjointed bits and overlapping pieces throughout the last four chapters of the book. The reader is thus forced to reconstruct the argument as he goes along, and since no two readers are likely to assemble it in quite the same way, we must all run the risk of failing to grasp the new theory.

Subject to this risk, then, I am constrained to say that the argument as I piece it together is patently irresponsible. I can cite only a few examples. Grebanier glosses "antic" in "antic disposition" as "bizarre" or "grotesque" rather than "lunatic". But he does not waste a minute to explain why Hamlet should anticipate that his conduct might seem bizarre or grotesque; as long as "antic" does not mean "mad", the fact that Hamlet might "think meet / To put an antic disposition on" becomes wholly irrelevant. Thus an interpretative problem is neatly reduced to a semantic game. Fifty pages later Hamlet's disordered appearance in Ophelia's room is rejected as evidence of madness real or feigned, because it is only reported and not directly seen, and because the sweet disorder in Hamlet's dress is natural to any man who has "complicated worries". Then 100 pages later, in a discourse upon Ophelia's madness, we are told that Ophelia, Lear and Edgar reflect Shakespeare's normal presentation of madness, from which it is readily seen that he did not mean Hamlet to be mad. And it turns out that one ingredient of madness common to all three is that they are "fantastically garbed", whereas "Hamlet's dress is the normal dress for mourning". Grebanier's attack on the theory of delay involves the same kind of jugglery. The crux in any discussion of delay is the prayer scene. But after the long mocking summary of the critics who think Hamlet delays, after the orotund arguments that Hamlet is neither too sensitive nor too moral to act, when he finally performs a scene-by-scene analysis expressly designed to show that Hamlet does not delay, Grebanier passes over the prayer scene without comment. Then, in a footnote eight pages later, he concedes that the prayer scene is crucial to any discussion of delay, and on the flimsiest grounds imaginable dismisses the scene as a "breather" in the play. This is matched only by his failure to mention anywhere that in the soliloquy "O, what a rogue and peasant slave am I", Hamlet accuses himself of delay.

No serious student of the play nowadays can be unfriendly to the thesis that Hamlet neither reaches madness nor delays unduly. But no friend of the play can take seriously the question-begging arguments here offered on behalf of that thesis. And the theory of the play that emerges from these arguments, also in bits and pieces, is not unfamiliar after all. It is that Hamlet, an active man by nature, must restrain himself first until he can prove the veracity of the ghost, and then until he can make the killing of Claudius an act of public justice. The killing of Polonius is then the turning point of the play, because there Hamlet gives in to his tragic flaw of rashness and thenceforth cannot become an agent of public justice. Though not identical, this theory is remarkably like the one advanced in Professor Fredson Bowers' celebrated article, "Hamlet as Minister and Scourge". And it is remarkable too that in his exhaustive survey of *Hamlet* criticism—some of the 287 footnotes in Chapter Three are to articles in *Notes and Queries* for 1885, the *Academy* for 1889 and *Poet Lore* for 1891—

Grebanier never should have encountered Bowers' article. It would have saved him a great deal of trouble.

The Ohio State University

JULIAN MARKELS

The Year's Work in English Studies, Volume XXXVIII: 1957. Edited by BEATRICE WHITE and T. A. DORSCH. London: Oxford University Press for The English Association, 1960. Pp. [275]. \$6.00.

Students of English literature continue to enjoy the great service so faithfully and capably performed by *YWES*. No other single work can offer them with comparable completeness a survey of scholarship and criticism in all major branches of this vast subject matter. Students of Shakespeare, in turn, have every reason to be grateful for the Shakespeare portion of this survey, although some of its services are in part performed by other periodicals as well. In the spring of each year, theoretically, a bibliography of Shakespeare studies for the preceding year appears in *PMLA*, in *SP*, and in *SQ*; a few months later a fourth, invaluable for its exceptional Continental coverage, appears in *SJ*. These four bibliographies of course differ in scope and consequently in utility for the Shakespeare specialist. Each in some degree supplements the entries of the others, but only the last three list reviews; only the last two attempt the completeness consonant with their being restricted to Shakespeare alone; and only the *SQ* bibliography attempts summarizing the content of a majority of the articles it records. To the degree that it succeeds in this aim, it anticipates a principal purpose of Mr. Dorsch in *YWES*, but it necessarily does so within the format of an alphabetized bibliography, without the integration of a survey. Before Mr. Dorsch reaches print, however, a major survey does appear: "The Year's Contributions to Shakespearean Study" in *Shakespeare Survey*. Publications of early 1957, for example, are treated in the 1958 volume, and the remainder in that for 1959, several months before *YWES*.

"The Year's Contributions to Shakespearean Study" by no means removes the value of its older, but less prompt, fellow survey. Even when merely reporting on the same material, the two often usefully complement one another, each focusing on aspects which seem to its editor of primary interest. But while *Shakespeare Survey* treats a few studies unmentioned by Mr. Dorsch, it ignores many (brief articles and notes, mainly) which he includes. Although the difference might be easily exaggerated, the one survey appears somewhat more concerned with selective coverage and an emphasis on evaluation, the other with maximum coverage.

Of course no survey, unless interminably delayed, can hope to cover all that is annually published, even if space and energy permitted. Already Mr. Dorsch's "Shakespeare" is much the longest chapter in *YWES*, as long as "The Renaissance", "Later Elizabethan and Early Stuart Drama", and "The Later Tudor Period, Excluding Drama" combined. Even so, his chapter is relatively brief on the individual books and articles it covers, so great is their number. One wonders if a moderate shift in focus might make his survey even more useful than it now is. Reviewing English and American books (both editions and critical studies) currently consumes a good deal of his chapter; in the space available to him he does an admirably complete job. But for such works more detailed reviews, and ones reflecting a variety of approaches and capacities, have already been published in readily available major journals and have been recorded in the annual bibliographies. The same is true for a few major foreign studies, such as Clemen's *Kommentar zu Shakespeares Richard III* (a 1957 work

probably reserved by Mr. Dorsch for treatment in his next survey). On volumes so abundantly reviewed by others a mere listing of titles, serving as a helpful reminder of the year's principal publications, might release time and space for Mr. Dorsch to give even completer coverage to less familiar and less readily accessible materials. For English and American periodicals Mr. Dorsch leaves little to be desired, although a check of the annual bibliography inevitably reveals a few significant articles he might well have discussed, or discussed at greater length. The great gap, not easily filled, is in non-English scholarship and criticism. One looks in vain for any mention of 1957 books by Gabriele Baldini, Karl Brunner, Léon Emery, Gustaf Fredén, Silvano Gerevini, Josef Hegenbarth, Max Lüthi, or of 1957 articles by Niels Brøgger, Rudolf Filipović, Augusto Guidi, Akiro Honda, Jean Jacquot, Jean Rousselot, Zdeněk Stříbrný, to name a few. Such materials are often difficult to obtain; some of them are in languages which create for most of us a still greater barrier. At present, German studies fare better than do those from other lands and in other languages, but no survey tells us adequately of "The Year's Work in Shakespearean Studies" abroad. Mr. Dorsch can scarcely be expected to remove this deficiency single handed. It is to be hoped, however, that he will lend even more of his energies to so desirable an end.

University of California, Los Angeles

R. W. DENT

The Queenes Maiesties Passage Through the Citie of London to Westminster the day before her Coronacion. Edited by JAMES M. OSBORN with Introduction by Sir JOHN NEALE. Yale University Press for the Elizabethan Club, 1960. Pp. 64. \$4.00.

This attractive and important book is the first in a series to be published by the Yale University Press for the Elizabethan Club. It is the unique survivor of the first edition of an occasional piece so popular, as Osborn demonstrates, that the publisher began work on a second printing before all the type of the first edition had been distributed. Curiously enough in a quarto of five quires, it is the inner forme of Sheet C that is identical in the first and second editions. Apparently some of the running-titles also were still intact for use with the second setting of the text.

In the Introduction, Sir John Neale, in his best golden prose, gives the setting and puts the reader in the mood to visualize the triumphal progress of Elizabeth I through her loyal city of London on the day before the coronation.

The unknown author writes with the vividness of one as close to her Majesty as the man who led the horse before her litter. This book has primary importance for Spenserians, as well as for historians. The four great symbolic arches speak directly—in English and in Latin—to students of masques and pageantry, as they did on that festive day to Elizabeth and her subjects. Unity, True Religion, Justice, Mercy, and the Holy Scriptures. Upon condition the new monarch would abide in these things, the Londoners offered up their hearts.

And what drama! At the first of the arches, "a child in costly apparel . . . spoke in English meter" of "blessing tongues . . . which praise the to y^e skie" and "true hertes, which loue thee frō their roote." "At which wordes . . . the hole people gaue a great shout." "And the quenes maiestie thanked most hartely both y^e citie for this her gentle receiuing at y^e first, & also y^e peple for cōfirming y^e same." Weigh the words that follow:

Here was noted in the Quenes maiesties cōutenance, during y^e time that the child spake, besides a perpetual attentiuenes in her face, a meruelous

change in looke, as the childe wordes touched either her persō or the peoples tonges and hertes. So that she with reioycing visage did evidently declare that the wordes tooke no lesse place in her mynde, than they were moste heartelye pronounced by the chylde, as from all the heartes of her most heartie citizens.

It was Elizabeth's first stellar role, and how magnificently she played it! With such a Queen and such a responsive audience, how could Shakespeare fail to develop the last measure of his genius?

J. G. M.

Un Peintre de la Vie Londonienne: Thomas Dekker. By MARIE-THÉRÈSE JONES-DAVIES. Paris: Didier, 1958. 2 vols. Pp. 416, 482. 5,800 fr.

The career which has been called the saddest in English literature is minutely examined in this massive work. Dr. Jones-Davies has read widely and searched diligently; not much of consequence has escaped the fine meshes of her net. She has been thorough in her study; one wishes that there had been more condensation in certain sections.

Although this study of Dekker is a thesis presented to the faculty of the Sorbonne, and sometimes bears the marks of the academic dissertation, yet the author writes with ease in an animated style. Her enthusiasm for her subject brightens every page, at times leading her into florid and extravagant language.

The three main sections of this study are concerned with the man and his work, London in Dekker's writings, and (the longest) the esthetic value of Dekker's works. A brief account of Dekker's life is followed by a lively portrait presenting him as an improvident artist who loved life, who laughed at man's foolishness but was willing to weep with his unhappiness, and who enthusiastically embraced a wide variety of causes. In a later chapter the author pictures him as a sympathetic realist and humorist.

London serves as the central motif for Dekker's works and here, "Le poète devient prophète, missionnaire de la cité" (I, 101). In the chapters on London and its inhabitants, which serve to justify the title, the author gives a brief account of the history, geography, society, and manners of the city, illustrating what she has to say by reference to passages in the works of Dekker. The chapter on manners is perhaps the weakest, for Dekker's fertility and versatility force Dr. Jones-Davies to extend her range pretty widely; she must of necessity neglect certain customs and slight others. For example, her discussion of superstitions and the pseudo-sciences is less than adequate, though Dekker was clearly conscious of them throughout his writings. Similarly, she is able to devote only three pages to religion, though it was a chief preoccupation of Londoners.

In concluding her study, the author expresses her belief that Dekker's work is a kind of amalgam of the past and his own present. From folklore and medieval art he derived a taste for the phantasmagoric, the incongruous, and the grotesque. Mme. Jones-Davies particularly compares his work with the paintings of Bosch and of Breughel. Finally, she believes that the weakness as well as the strength of Dekker's writings can be found in his engrossment with the London scene. For him, "Londres en est le héros, dont Dieu guide le destin, mais la vie de Londres est celle de son peuple de toutes classes, . . . avec l'accent mis sur les petits, les modestes, les misérables" (II, 329).

A few minor objections may be noted. Dr. Jones-Davies rightly excludes *The Owles Almanacke* from Dekker's canon, yet she uses many quotations from it to illustrate Dekker's knowledge of London. Some of the books referred to in the notes are missing from the index, as are some of the books

recorded in the bibliography. Although her bibliography is selective, one wonders at the omission of George E. Thornton's *The Social and Moral Philosophy of Thomas Dekker* (1955), Patricia Thomson's "The Old Way and the New Way in Dekker and Massinger" (*MLR*, 1956), and Marianne G. Riely's edition of *The Whore of Babylon (Diss. Abstr.)*, 1953. Further, the index would have been much more useful if subjects had been included. Perhaps most annoying of all are the six main divisions of the bibliography, divided and subdivided, with the items maddeningly listed chronologically instead of alphabetically.

There are no amazing discoveries in the book; in fact there is very little that is new. Yet the author has brought together a mass of material and has presented it readably and generally in a usable form.

Rice University

CARROLL CAMDEN

SHORT NOTICES

Hamlet: Enter Critic. Edited by CLAIRE SACKS and EDGAR WHAN. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1960. Pp. [x] + 298. \$1.95.

It was an interesting idea to bring together samples from two centuries of *Hamlet* criticism, as a basis for student discussions and critical papers. The principal criterion for judgment, however, becomes the provocativeness of the collection—whether it works—not the historical or intrinsic significance of the choices. Criticism by a reviewer on the latter basis, therefore, becomes irrelevant. One may wonder whether the alphabetical rather than a chronological arrangement of the selections really has any value except temporary confusion. One may wish that the plan permitted inclusion of the judgments of William Richardson, such contemporary critics as Stoll and Granville-Barker, and one of the more severe attacks on Dover Wilson's *What Happens in Hamlet*. Hazelton Spencer's treatment of the soliloquies, whether or not specious, is of considerable interest. In the bibliography certainly should have been included Kittredge's and Dover Wilson's editions of the play, Thorndike's *Shakespeare's Theater*, Miss Lily Campbell's *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes*, Mark Van Doren's *Shakespeare*, and Sprague's *Shakespeare and the Actors*, as well as the collections of Shakespeare criticism by Nichol Smith and Bradby.

The proofreading is not impeccable.

Brown University

WILLIAM T. HASTINGS

Interpreting Hamlet: Materials for Analysis. Selected and edited by RUSSELL A. LEAVENWORTH. San Francisco: Howard Chandler, 1960. Pp. vi + 265. \$1.75.

A publishing phenomenon of the last five years is the rapid multiplication of research handbooks for courses in freshman composition. These collect excerpts from original source materials upon suitable topics, each volume being limited to a single topic of popular interest. They are designed to relieve the burden upon library staffs when some hundreds or thousands of freshmen all begin work upon their term papers at the same time.

Of such a character is the volume before us. It will presumably be used in courses where *Hamlet* is part of the prescribed reading matter. It may be useful

to consider it in comparison with *Hamlet: Enter Critic*, by Claire Sacks and Edgar Whan. Both are paperbacks. *Interpreting Hamlet* is slightly shorter and slightly less expensive than *Enter Critic*. Either volume appears to be appropriate for the purpose intended. Each has at the end several pages of teaching aids: study questions, bibliography, advice on organizing the term paper, etc.

Interpreting Hamlet stresses two approaches to the play, the stage history of *Hamlet* and the "meaning" of *Hamlet*, in approximately equal proportions, quoting seventeen authors in all. In addition, it includes the 1608 English *Hystorie of Hamblet*, translated from Belleforest, and reproduces in facsimile the "To be or not to be" soliloquy as it appears in Q₁, in Q₂, and in F₁. A short introduction offers the student guidance in approaching his task.

Only six selections from *Interpreting Hamlet* are duplicated in *Enter Critic*, which gives relatively much greater emphasis to the "meaning" of the play. Out of thirty-eight selections, only four are concerned with stage history, the others all bearing upon Hamlet's character and problems. The larger number of authors quoted results in a fuller representation of *Hamlet* criticism, though some of the excerpts are quite brief. The editors have arranged the excerpts alphabetically according to author, instead of chronologically.

Neither of these volumes is sufficiently long to allow a comprehensive picture of *Hamlet* criticism. Teachers who use them would do well to place on library reserve several copies of Claude C. H. Williamson's *Readings on the Character of Hamlet* (Allen & Unwin, 1950). This volume of eight hundred pages provides a reasonably complete view of criticism on the "meaning" of *Hamlet* and will assist those students who wish to read beyond the bounds of their textbooks.

University of Maine

JOHN E. HANKINS

The Lamentation of Troy for the Death of Hector, by I. O. (London, 1594). Ed. by E. C. WILSON. Chicago: Institute of Elizabethan Studies, 1959. Pp. [xxii] + 68.

Mr. Wilson has rendered a service by editing and commenting upon a 1594 quarto consisting of two poems: *The Lamentation of Troy for the Death of Hector* and *An Olde Womans Tale*. The *Lamentation*, one of the many poems showing the *Mirror* influence, may interest students of the drama not only by a three-line description of an actor on stage, but also by its implicit definition of "tragedy". Students of Shakespeare's relationship to the classical tradition will note an interestingly explicit disavowal in the *Lamentation* of "sweet Homer" with the consequent subscription to those Troy traditions described by Presson *et al.* In such respects a deliberate use of anachronism (l. 879) is also not without interest.

The poetic treatment of contemporary inheritance problems in *An Olde Womans Tale* might also attest to the existence of a notion, in some Renaissance circles at least, of the appropriateness of such subject-matter to literature. Here is a further hint that "domestic tragedy" may have had its origin in something more than a desire to titillate middle-class audiences.

The present edition is based on the Houghton copy collated with photostats and microfilms of the four other quartos. Mr. Wilson identifies the author, "I.O.", as Sir John Ogle (1569-1640) in a demonstration which does not establish the point beyond doubt but does incline the reader's agreement.

McMicken College
University of Cincinnati

J. LEEDS BARROLL

A Companion to Shakespeare's Studies (Doubleday Anchor Book A 191). Edited by H. GRANVILLE-BARKER and G. B. HARRISON. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1960. Pp. viii + 390. \$1.45.

This invaluable companion to Shakespeare's studies, first published by the C.U.P. in 1934, is now available as a paperback, thanks to the initiative of the *Doubleday Anchor Books*. It includes fifteen essays by renowned scholars covering different aspects of the art, the age, and the criticism of Shakespeare, a study of the contemporary theater, and a survey of the great performances of the plays from the Restoration to the present time. It closes with a helpful reading list.

According to Granville-Barker, quoted by G. B. Harrison in his Preface, what unites the different essays is the indirect, *contemporary* approach to Shakespeare, through the study of the culture, the taste, the values, and the conditions of his time.

University of Brazil

ÁILA DE OLIVEIRA GOMES

Hamlet and Other Tragedies, Old and New (Noble's Comparative Classics). Edited by HELEN E. HARDING. New York: Noble and Noble, 1959. Pp. [vii] + 486. \$1.82.

Julius Caesar (Shakespeare) and Elizabeth the Queen (Maxwell Anderson) (Noble's Comparative Classics). Edited by HELEN E. HARDING. New York: Noble and Noble, 1958. Pp. [x] + 338. \$1.92.

Macbeth (Shakespeare) and The Emperor Jones (Eugene O'Neill) (Noble's Comparative Classics). Edited by BENJAMIN A. HEYDRICK and ALFRED A. MAY. New York: Noble and Noble, 1958. Pp. [x] + 276. \$1.92.

This series, designed for secondary schools, places a "classic" in the same volume with a modern play, as "a means of studying the larger aspects of the two works, of comparing them in theme and treatment, rather than concentrating upon the text of one." This approach is psychologically sound, for by illustrating the timelessness of certain perennial themes in literature, it tends to allay some of the inevitable suspicion of the young towards works which are not strictly contemporary. It should thus be possible to consider the problems common to tragedies based on the theme of "vaulting ambition", as in *Macbeth* and O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones*; or the relation of ruler to state, as in *Julius Caesar* and Maxwell Anderson's *Elizabeth the Queen*; or of revenge and the relations of sons and mothers, as in *Hamlet* and Sophocles' *Electra*. Each volume contains, in addition to the plays themselves, introductory material that is generally excellent for the purpose: biographical sketches of the authors; description of the Elizabethan age and theatrical conventions, and, in the case of *Electra*, a discussion of the origin and characteristics of Greek tragedy; special information on sources, such as Holinshed and Plutarch; and questions for class or individual use. In addition, the *Julius Caesar* and *Macbeth* volumes contain discussions of versification. That in the *Julius Caesar* volume is excellent; the one in the *Macbeth* volume is oversimplified; and for some reason the *Hamlet* volume contains no such discussion.

The success of such an enterprise depends first of all upon the appropriateness of the works chosen for comparison and then upon the editor's success in making the most of such comparisons. In the case of *Julius Caesar* and *Elizabeth the Great* the choice is excellent: both plays deal with the conflict between private emotion and public responsibility and with the nature of power, and they are comparable in their use of language. The questions given for study are also useful, although I think they could have pointed up the theme more sharply. The *Macbeth-Emperor Jones* volume also comes off well, and here the questions and "Comparative Study" discussions make clear the factors the two plays have in

common. On the other hand, the *Hamlet* volume is less successful. In the first place the choice of plays for comparison is less happy. *Electra* is a very good companion to *Hamlet*, both in theme and in general excellence, but *Beyond the Horizon* seems pale and thin next to these two. If it seemed necessary to have an O'Neill play, the only one that would not be embarrassed in such company is *Mourning Becomes Electra*. It has the advantage of being much better written than *Beyond the Horizon*, which, however it might be on the stage, is very flat in the reading; and it has the further advantage of being on the same subject. The editor herself seems hard put to it to justify *Beyond's* inclusion; she notes merely that both *Hamlet* and Robert Mayo are ineffectual types. Perhaps *Mourning Becomes Electra* would be considered unsuitable for high school study because of its Freudian implications, but in that case *Hamlet* is also unsuitable. The editor must have had some misgivings on this point, for the text in this edition is partly bowdlerized—cf. III. ii. 112-120; III. ii. 261-263; III. iv. 104-106; IV. v. 54-58; IV. v. 60-68.¹ In some of Shakespeare's plays the bawdry might be taken out with little damage to the whole, but in this case the excised passages are not entertainment for the groundlings, but necessary to a full comprehension of the bitter disgust that is a central factor in *Hamlet's* characterization, and of the murky depths that madness reveals in even so innocent a character as Ophelia. Perhaps *Hamlet* is too advanced for secondary-school students; perhaps not.

One final criticism of this volume: it contains a discussion of the nature of tragedy which is good as far as it goes but which fails to distinguish between pathos and tragedy. If the distinction had been made, perhaps *Beyond the Horizon* would not have been included as a parallel to *Hamlet*. For *Beyond the Horizon* is essentially pathos, not tragedy.

University of Maryland

E. G. ROGERS

¹ Folger Library General Reader's Shakespeare. *Hamlet*. New York, 1958.

Queries and Notes

A SIGNED AMERICAN BINDING ON THE FIRST AMERICAN EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE

EDWIN WOLF IIND

The inhabitants of Philadelphia, then the rich and bustling capital of the country, read in the *Gazette of the United States* on March 2, 1795, the following advertisement:

SHAKESPEARE'S WORKS

Mountford, Bioren, & Co.

RESPECTFULLY inform the Patrons to these Works, and the Public, that from the very Liberal Encouragement they have already received in the Undertaking, they will be enabled to put the FIRST VOLUME to Press in the course of the ensuing Month.

This being the first attempt made in the United States for the publication of the Writings of the celebrated Shakespeare—and the magnitude and elegance of the Work rendering it materially expensive, the Publishers anticipate a generous Patronage from an enlightened Public.

It will be printed in a new type—and on paper of a superior quality.—The first volume will contain an elegant *Frontispiece of Shakespeare*.

SUBSCRIPTIONS are received by the principal Booksellers in this City, and throughout the United States, and by the Publishers, No. 75, Dock Street.

Proposals and subscription lists had been circulated. The prepublication price was fixed at eight dollars for sets in blue boards with paper backs.¹ However, delays occurred. On April 28 the dissolution of the partnership of Mountford, Bioren & Co. was announced, and Bioren & Madan declared that they were continuing the business and that "The first volume of the Works of SHAKESPEARE is now in the press."² The volume was not finished until some time after July 1, the date of the anonymous preface.

The first three volumes bear the date 1795 on the title-pages; the last five 1796. Something unforeseen must have occurred in the printing-shop during the

¹ Marian S. Carson and Marshall W. S. Swan, "John Bioren: Printer to Philadelphia Publishers", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XLIII (1949), 324-327.

² *Gazette of the United States*, Apr. 28, 1795.

course of the work. The first three volumes are, indeed, handsomely printed with new type of modern design; the last five are printed in an ordinary fashion with old type. I have been unable to find any advertisements telling of the progress of the work or announcing its conclusion.

The publishers were fully conscious that this was the first "American" edition. It was noted in the preface that as many as thirty editions of Shakespeare had been printed abroad in thirty years, while the preface itself was excused on the grounds that "the genius and writings" of the author were "as yet but imperfectly known on the western shore of the Atlantic". In presenting the volumes to the public, the editors hoped "to do credit to the American press."³

When the set was offered for sale, the Library Company of Philadelphia did not buy one. It already had two sets of Shakespeare's works. One was Hanmer's six-volume octavo edition of 1745 (they had ordered "Shakespear's Works by Theobald" on Dec. 9, 1745, for which their London agent Peter Collinson substituted the new Hanmer edition⁴), and the other the first printing of Dr. Johnson's eight-volume octavo edition of 1765 (it first appeared in the Library Company catalogue of 1770).⁵ No patriotic impulse impelled the Library Company to add the American production.

Other Philadelphians either favored the American enterprise as such or filled lacunae in their own collections with it. Since 1869 the Library Company has owned Dr. Benjamin Rush's copy of Bioren & Madan's edition, now lacking Vol. VIII. Vols. V and VI are still bound in a neat, local, contemporary sheep, with morocco labels; the other volumes have been rebound. On the fly-leaves of Vol. V appears a list of all the plays in Benjamin Rush's autograph and the signatures of his sons Richard and James. Evidence of thoughtful use is given by the number of passages throughout the set marked with crosses or marginal lines.

Another Philadelphian, Thomas McKean, also a Signer of the Declaration of Independence and at the time of the set's publication the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, bought the eight volumes. They were bought bound, or McKean had them bound, in unusually elegant bindings. Herein lies the uniqueness of the set. For the American edition the binder designed an American binding. A stencil of an American eagle was cut and placed on the sides, so that when the calf was "sprinkled" the eagle remained light. The flat spines were divided into six compartments with a tool of a lyre, crossed pipes and a lute in the first, third, fifth and sixth compartments. Red morocco title labels were fixed in the second, and black morocco volume number labels in the fourth. At the very foot of the spine, below several rows of ornaments, is to be found the name of the binder: LIGHTBODY. To the best of my knowledge this is the only early American binding known with the binder's name impressed on the exterior of the binding, in the manner commonly practised by the Frenchmen, Bozerian and Simier, and others.

The name Lightbody is a new one to the list of American binders. He was

³ William Shakespeare, *The Plays and Poems* (Philadelphia, 1795-96), I, iii, iv and xii.

⁴ Library Company of Philadelphia, Minute Book, MS., I, 147.

⁵ These two sets are now noble ruins, testifying to the avidity with which Philadelphians read Shakespeare. Only Vols. IV-VI of the Hanmer edition survive; the Johnson edition is badly imperfect and lacks Vol. VII. Both sets were rebound about 1800, and one volume, at least, of the earlier edition and five of the later rebound again fifty years later.

not known to Hannah French or the Browns,⁶ nor does his name appear in the Philadelphia Directories of the late eighteenth century. However, there exist in the archives of the Library Company two documents which place John Lightbody, a binder, in Philadelphia in 1798. One is a list of "Twenty-six volumes of Pamphlets &c delivered to Jno. Lightbody to bind for the Library", signed on June 18, 1798, by Thomas Parke, a Director of the Company, with his acknowledgement of their return, bound. The other is an itemized bill of \$117.70 for binding 59 volumes and supplying 375 issues of Brown's *Gazette*, submitted to the Library Company on June 28, 1798, and receipted by Lightbody on July 6.

The bindings executed for the Library Company were plain, inexpensive sheep bindings with red morocco labels, without any distinguishing characteristics, for which Lightbody charged fifty cents for an average octavo volume and up to \$3.25 for a year's run of a newspaper. An indication that Lightbody was at work in Philadelphia at least until 1800 is given by a two-volume set of Hannah More's *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*, Philadelphia, 1800, on the spines of which appear the identical tool of musical instruments used on the Shakespeare.⁷

A final word should be said of McKean's set. The Signer wrote his name on the first page of the text in each volume (it has been clipped out in Vols. VI and VII) and inserted his armorial bookplate, signed by the engraver M. De Bruls and printed on curious green paper, in Vols. VI and VIII.⁸ There is no indication that the bookplate was ever in the remaining volumes. This set, in a signed American binding, from the library of a Signer, was bought by the Library Company in 1954 from a Philadelphia bookseller.

Library Company of Philadelphia

SHAKESPEARE IN EARLY AMERICAN DECORATIVE ARTS

MARIAN S. CARSON

During the Puritan period, Shakespeare was all but unknown. The "improvements" which Pope wrought on the old Folios, however, awakened an interest in the bard. Imported editions of Pope, Rowe and Johnson found their way into the bookstores in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. As subscription libraries and athenaeums became a part of early American life, the same volumes passed from library shelf to readers along the seaboard.

Shakespeare became known through the several editions, reprints and criticisms. Not only the lines themselves, but the characters were visually familiar through repeated performances on the American stage, acted for the most part

⁶ Hannah Dustin French, "Early American Bookbinding by Hand", in *Bookbinding in America* (Portland, Maine, 1941), pp. 111-115, giving a list of Philadelphia binders; H. Glenn Brown and Maude O. Brown, *A Directory of the Book-Arts and Book Trade in Philadelphia to 1820* (New York, 1950).

⁷ It is of course possible that another binder may have owned or used the tool. The intensive study presently being made by Willman Spahn of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia binders and bindings will throw welcome light on the craftsmen, their tools and their practices. The More set came into the Library Company as the gift of Miss Marianna Gillingham in 1906.

⁸ This bookplate is not listed in Charles Dexter Allen, *American Book-Plates* (New York, 1894). George C. Grace and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860* (New Haven, 1957), p. 171, list a Michael De Bruls (or Michelson Godhart) who was a landscape and map engraver working in New York City between 1757 and 1763.

by second- or third-rate English professionals. American adoption of Shakespeare is evident in the last half of the eighteenth century. As in England, this culture, often affected as it was, had its symbols. These might have been an effigy of the great poet, a mezzotint of a costumed Garrick or Mrs. Robinson, a colored statuette of one of the characters from *Hamlet*, or even a set of chess men, with Kemble as Macbeth, and Mrs. Siddons as Lady Macbeth.

At Boston in the Spring of 1754, a scholarly public official "intending soon for Europe", offered for sale a variety of items including among the elegant furnishings,

A beautiful Statuary Marble carved Chimney-Piece and Picture; two fine China Chandeliers, fitted with Flowers and Branches; with three Plaister Figures of *Shakespear*, *Milton* and *Pope*.¹

Presumably two of the figures flanked a pediment, the third stood on a plinth in the center.

Not long afterwards (1760) Mrs. William Masters of Philadelphia built a mansion near the corner of Sixth and Market Streets. This was to be a notable house, for it was successively the residence of Gov. Richard Penn, General Howe, during the British occupancy, and Benedict Arnold, when the Americans returned, then the home of Robert Morris, and finally the Executive Mansion of President Washington and of his successor, John Adams. Here again a figure of Shakespeare adorned "ye Mantle Tree" when the house was inventoried in 1766.

"The manner of open Pediments with Busto's & Shells for the open part of the Pediment" was suggested to joiners and cabinet makers by the popular English designer, William Pain, in 1758. He surrounded the three basic "arch'd, Pediment and OG Heads" with characteristic busts. The choice, whether Franklin, Milton, Shakespeare, Madame Pompadour, or another, rested with the purchaser. Four scientists and a celestial globe composed the "enrichments of sculpture" on the mahogany cases made for the Rittenhouse Orreries at Princeton and the University of Pennsylvania. Literary subjects found their way into libraries. Carvers copied prints, and porcelains served as models.

From time to time there were advertisements similar to the one in the Boston *News-Letter* of May 13, 1762, when M. Deshon called attention to "A variety of curious fine China and Statuary." From then on British porcelain and pottery makers supplied the English-speaking markets with busts, figures and medallions from factories at Chelsea, from the Wedgwoods at Burslem or Etruria, from Liverpool, and lesser works throughout Staffordshire. "Handsone images of Shakespear" were included in the wares to be sold "at the new brick Store," Back Street, Boston, according to the *News Letter* from April 28, 1768.²

Elizabeth Graeme Fergusson, who devoted herself to literary pursuits, had her household goods seized by the "rebels" while the patriots suffered at Valley Forge. Here were "twelve small medal Plaister of Paris heads of the Poets".

Wedgwood's chief designer John Flaxman joined with William Hackwood in a lovely portrait medallion. From the catalogue of Ornamental Wares issued by Wedgwood and Bentley in 1773 they sold a variety of "Heads of Illustrious Moderns" which was to reach the number of 230 by 1787 and to be produced in

¹ George Francis Dow, *The Arts and Crafts in New England, 1704-1775* (1927), p. 114.

² George Francis Dow, *The Arts and Crafts in New England, 1704-1775* (1927), p. 124.

jasper and in basalts, and of several sizes for as little as a shilling each. More important were the finer busts and small statues which are now and have long been very much in demand. These usually were from four to eighteen inches, while some of the busts are known to have reached a size of twenty-five inches. The basalt bust was fifteen inches.

By far the most interesting collector's item is the chess-set first issued in 1785 by Wedgwood after the design of Flaxman. These sets consist of a series of attractive and imaginative men each modelled as actors playing *Macbeth*. Charles Kemble has the title role; Lady Macbeth is represented by Mrs. Siddons. The pieces are armed each with a primitive weapon, such as bow and arrow, battle-axe or dagger. The rooks had square crenellated towers, the knights were astride prancing horses, but in the sets intended for the French market, the mitred bishops were replaced by jesters which were known at the Wedgwood potteries as Tom Fools. Colors were in a wide choice, gray, mauve, Flemish green, dark biscuit, blue, buff and white, sometimes touched with highlights of gold. In the nineteenth century, blue jasper chess-men were again issued with natural and black boxwood to distinguish the opposing sides. Less expensive stoneware players were also issued.

Specimens of decorative needlework, known as samplers, were framed and hung on the wall of many a house. These were the proud work of youthful accomplishment, the extent of a girl's skill. In colorful silk or wool thread, she worked out an alphabet, a sentiment or quotation, or perhaps a landscape composition. The young lady's name, the date of execution, and sometimes the girl's age completed the record. These exercises are twice referred to in Shakespeare. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, for example, Helena says,

We, Hermia, like two artificial gods
Have with our needles created both one flower.
Both on one sampler, sitting on one cushion.

In 1797, another quotation was actually used by an American girl, Anne Hathaway, who found the lines in *Titus Andronicus*:

Fair Philomel, she but lost her tongue
And in a tedious sampler sewed her mind.³

Philadelphia

SHAKESPEARE IN MARBLE IN COLONIAL AMERICA

HANFORD HENDERSON

The reading of Shakespeare in Colonial America has been described in as much detail as the facts permit,¹ and a native born American is known to have been performing minor roles in the plays before the Revolution.² It seems not to have been noticed, however, that some of the homes of the cultured families

³ Ethel Stanwood Bolton and Eva Johnston Coe, *American Samplers* (1921), pp. 3, 51.

¹ E. E. Willoughby, "The Reading of Shakespeare in Colonial America", *PBSA*, XXX (1936); Esther C. Dunn, *Shakespeare in America* (1939), especially Chapters I and II.

² Robert H. Ball, "Samuel Greville, First Player", *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 25 Oct. 1929.

in the colonies introduced Shakespearian motifs for architectural embellishment.

A fine bas-relief showing "Shakespeare Visited by the Muse" (or, as some prefer, "Shakespeare Receiving the Keys from the Goddess of Wisdom") is centered in the Italian marble mantel of the drawing room of the Chase House in Annapolis, Maryland (see reproduction facing page 161). This house was begun in 1769 and completed in 1774.³ Samuel Chase, who began the house, was one of the Maryland signers of the Declaration of Independence. Before the house was completed he decided to sell it to Edmund Lloyd, IV, of Wye on the Eastern Shore.⁴ The identity of the sculptor is unknown.⁵

The Chase-Lloyd House—including the mantel with its Shakespeare bas-relief—may be seen by visitors by arrangement with Historic Annapolis, Inc., which arranges tours of the historic buildings in the "Athens of America".

St. Mary's Junior College, Maryland

THE FIRST AMERICAN ENGRAVING OF SHAKESPEARE

JAMES G. McMANAWAY

It is well known that the first complete edition of Shakespeare's Works to be printed outside the British Isles was that of Bioren and Madan in Philadelphia in 1795. This had as the frontispiece to Volume I an engraving by R. Field after the portrait of Shakespeare in the collection of the Duke of Chandos. In Jaggard's *Shakespeare Bibliography* (p. 507), this is called the first portrait of the poet produced in the United States.

In point of fact, a portrait of Shakespeare had appeared in 1787 in *The Columbian Magazine*.¹ It is an unsigned engraving of the statue erected in Westminster Abbey in 1740, printed to illustrate a full-page advertisement of the Philadelphia bookseller Thomas Seddon. His engraved announcement reads as follows:

Books & Stationary [*sic*] of the best quality and on the most reasonable terms to be sold at the store of Thos. Seddon in Market between Front & second Street Philadelphia.

A copy of this advertisement appears in the July 1787 number of *The Columbian Magazine* in the Folger Shakespeare Library. The leaf is tipped in between the

³ Rosamond R. Beirne, *The Chase House in Annapolis* (1954). According to Mrs. Sara Oliver, the custodian, to whom I am indebted for information and assistance, the bas-relief is contemporary with the mantel it adorns.

⁴ Lloyd brought his family to Annapolis to occupy the house while he attended sessions of the Assembly, to which he had been elected from his native Talbot County. His youngest daughter, Mary Tayloe Lloyd, was married in the drawing room on 19 January 1802 to Francis Scott Key, author of "The Star Spangled Banner". The property was ultimately bequeathed to a self-perpetuating board of trustees (The Chase House, Inc.) who are members of the Episcopal Diocese of Maryland.

⁵ Lloyd engaged William Buckland, "Master Builder", a designer and carver, to oversee the completion of the house, including the exquisite plaster and woodwork, which are attributed to Buckland himself. Perhaps he should be credited with the selection or the execution of the bas-relief.

¹ See the Frontispiece of this number of *SQ* for a reproduction. It gives me pleasure to record my thanks to friends who have helped in the accumulation of these notes: Sir Frank Francis, Director of the British Museum; Miss Waveney R. N. Payne, Librarian of the Shakespeare Memorial Library, Birmingham, England; and, to be cited in detail below, David Piper, Esq., Dr. Edwin Wolf II, and Mr. R. D. Crompton.

folding page of "Meteorological Observations" and the title-page, with the engraving facing the title-page. This was not its original position, for the stab marks show that the engraving was printed on the recto of the leaf. In all probability the advertisement was intended to be bound in after the last leaf of text (pp. 557-558). Another copy of the engraving belongs to The Library Company of Philadelphia, where it appears at the end of the August issue of *The Columbian Magazine*. If additional copies should be discovered, it would not be surprising to find them in numbers bearing other dates, for Seddon may well have wished his advertisement to appear more frequently than twice.

The Philadelphia engraving is unsigned, but according to Joseph Jackson it is "evidently the work of [James] Trenchard",² who is known to have worked in Philadelphia in the decade before 1800. Trenchard's immediate source can be confidently identified as the frontispiece to Volume I of the seven-volume edition of *The Plays of Shakespeare* published in Dublin in 1771 by Thomas Ewing, which bears the notation, "P. Halpin sc." The artist was probably Patrick Halpin, a Dubliner who flourished from about 1755 until 1787.³ Paget Halpin, another Dublin copper engraver, who was active from 1796 to 1810, seems to have been too young to have made the plate for Ewing.

What differentiates Halpin's version of the Westminster Abbey statue from the others in circulation before 1787 is the head, which has been described as "a cheerful Irish invention". Trenchard copied this closely but in my opinion improved upon his original.

It would be pleasant to record that a copy of Ewing's edition is on the shelves of The Library Company of Philadelphia, but Dr. Edwin Wolf II, the librarian, informs me that the Library Company does not now possess the set and did not in the 1790's.

Folger Shakespeare Library

SHAKESPEARE AND AMERICA'S REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

ERNST J. SCHLOCHAUER

In what esteem America's revolutionary leaders have held Shakespeare, how much he may have influenced their thinking, and to what extent they were familiar with his works are questions which must have aroused the curiosity of many Shakespearean students and scholars and which cannot at this point be conclusively answered.

A somewhat sketchy picture may be pieced together, however, from references in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. J. P. Boyd, L. H. Butterfield, and Mina R. Bryan (Princeton University Press, 1950), from items in the *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson*, compiled with annotations by E. Millicent Sowerby (Library of Congress, 1952-), and from our knowledge of the libraries, cultural tastes, and theatrical productions of the time.

From the last source of general 18th century Americana, the definite im-

² *Encyclopedia of Philadelphia* (Harrisburg, 1932), III, 862. I am indebted for this reference to Mr. Robert D. Crompton, who is writing a monograph on Trenchard.

³ Ulrich Thieme and Fred C. Willis, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler . . .* (1922), V, 529. The dates of Patrick Halpin's floruit are confirmed in a memorandum from David Piper, Esq., Director of the National Portrait Gallery.

pression can be gleaned that Shakespeare, though a name familiar to many, or most, educated Americans, meant either of two separate and widely divergent things: a philosophical, moral poet, at times almost totally dissociated from his works, or the archaic, relatively unimportant author of highly diluted, adapted, amended, and corrected spectacles that served as vehicles for England's matinee idols like Siddons or Garrick. In America these spectacles were performed at private theatricals, in the few public theatres in existence at the time in Charleston, Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, and by travelling companies of actors like Hallam's, the forerunners of the showboats.

It is not surprising, then, that John Adams and Thomas Jefferson should have looked upon Shakespeare, whom they are known to have quoted with relative frequency, as "a great moralist who has penetrated the mysteries of individual and social values and expounds his discoveries with the air of a prophet."¹ It is in this vein that John Adams quotes from *Macbeth* when, during the fight he led against "British Imperialism" in the Colonies, he expresses doubt that England, whom he calls our mother, would be pleased when she is likened to Lady Macbeth. Similarly, when he ponders "the struggle which I believe always happens between virtue and ambition, when a man first commences courtier", he is reminded of Mrs. Ford's words

If I would but go to hell for an eternal moment or so,
I could be knighted,

without in the least seeming to associate the lines with the rascally Falstaff's proposals to *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Finally, Ulysses' speech in *Troilus and Cressida*

Degree being vizarded,
The unworthiest shows as fairly in the mask.
The heavens themselves, the planets and the centre
Observe degree, priority and place.

serves magnificently to support his controversial "aristocratic" argument for degrees in the structure of society (p. 89).

In April 1786 Adams recorded in his *Diary* an account of the trip he and Jefferson made to Stratford-upon-Avon. Among other tourist attractions they were shown, "an old wooden chair in the chimney corner where [Shakespeare] sat. We cut off a chip according to custom. A mulberry tree that he planted has been cut down, and is carefully preserved for sale." The note expresses disappointment that nothing is "preserved of this great genius which is worth knowing; nothing which might inform us what education, what company, what accident, turned his mind to letters and the drama", and concludes with the observation that Shakespeare's "wit, fancy, his taste, and judgment, his knowledge of nature, of life and character, are immortal."²

From a letter written by Thomas Jefferson to Robert Skipwith, dated 3 August 1771, in reply to a request for advice about the acquisition of books, we may gather an attitude to Shakespeare similar to that held by Adams. Jefferson, too, stresses the significance and effectiveness of moral lessons to be derived from works of fiction. He maintains to his correspondent, Robert Skipwith, that fic-

¹ Esther C. Dunn, *Shakespeare in America* (New York 1939), p. 85.

² *Adams Diary*, IX, 374 n

tion offers lessons to be formed "to illustrate and carry home to the mind every moral rule of life. Thus a lively and lasting sense of filial duty is more effectually impressed on the mind of the son or daughter by reading *King Lear*, than by all the dry volumes of ethics and divinity that ever were written. This is my idea of well-written Romance, of Tragedy, Comedy, and Epic Poetry." On the enclosed list of suggested books there is a mention of Capell's Shakespeare 12mo. 30/-

The *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson* records:

1. Shakespeare's XX plays by Steevens.
2. Shakespeare by Johnson and Steevens with the supplement.
3. Dodd's Beauties of Shakespear.
4. Capell's notes & various readings to Shakespeare.
5. Concordance to Shakespeare (Becket, Andrew).

The following data are given on Bell's Shakespeare:

Bell's Shakespeare, which Jefferson bought from Stockdale in parts and on fine paper during the years 1786 and 1787 is entered by him in his manuscript catalogue (38 v.p.f.) but was not sold to Congress. Other editions of Shakespeare's works were purchased by Jefferson from time to time, but were not sold with his library in 1815.²

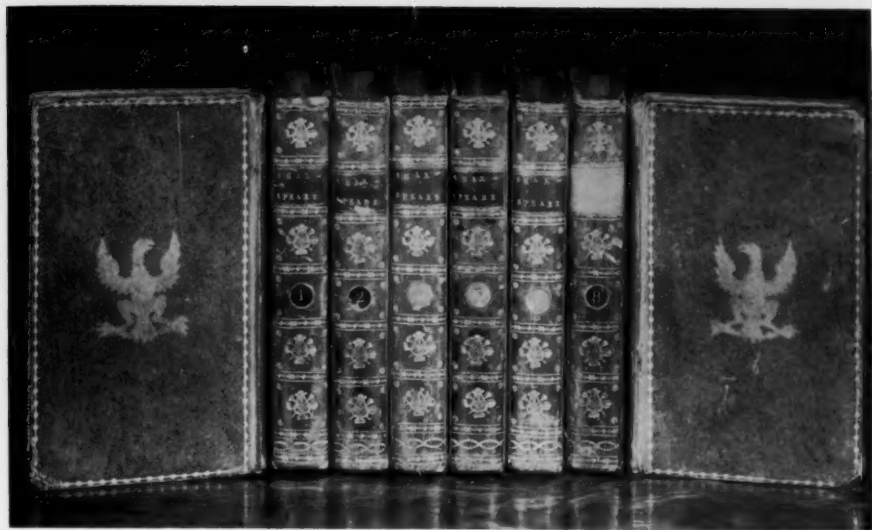
Esther C. Dunn tells us that Peter Jefferson, the President's father, had owned a copy of Shakespeare and that Thomas inherited his interest. In his commonplace book, Thomas Jefferson copied quotations from his favorite poets, Shakespeare being notably prominent among them. There are quotations from *Julius Caesar*, copied when Jefferson was an undergraduate at William and Mary College in the early 1760's, and several passages on honor from *Henry IV, Part 1*. Of four passages from *Coriolanus*, the author of *Shakespeare in America* finds Coriolanus' speech to the Senators, beseeching them not to give away their power to the officers of the people, the most challenging in arousing our speculation as to Jefferson's personal philosophy. The general conclusion is that "throughout his life, Shakespeare permeated Jefferson's thoughts chiefly as a great poetic commentator on the human scene" (p. 95). Perhaps the most curious and prophetic statement Jefferson made about Shakespeare is derived from a letter he wrote in 1825, a year before his death. When "country dialects" and "local vocabularies" have been "published and digested", he writes, probably "not a word in Shakespeare" will be obscure. Thus "the true sense" of Shakespeare will be restored (p. 100).

No reference to Shakespeare by Benjamin Franklin is known, though a copy of Shakespeare was available in the printing offices of the *New England Courant*. Washington, who attended several performances of Shakespeare's plays, quoted him only once or twice, and then only in the broadest sense, as if the lines, somewhat inaccurate, had been heard by him often as maxims or mottoes and had not been retained from reading or study.

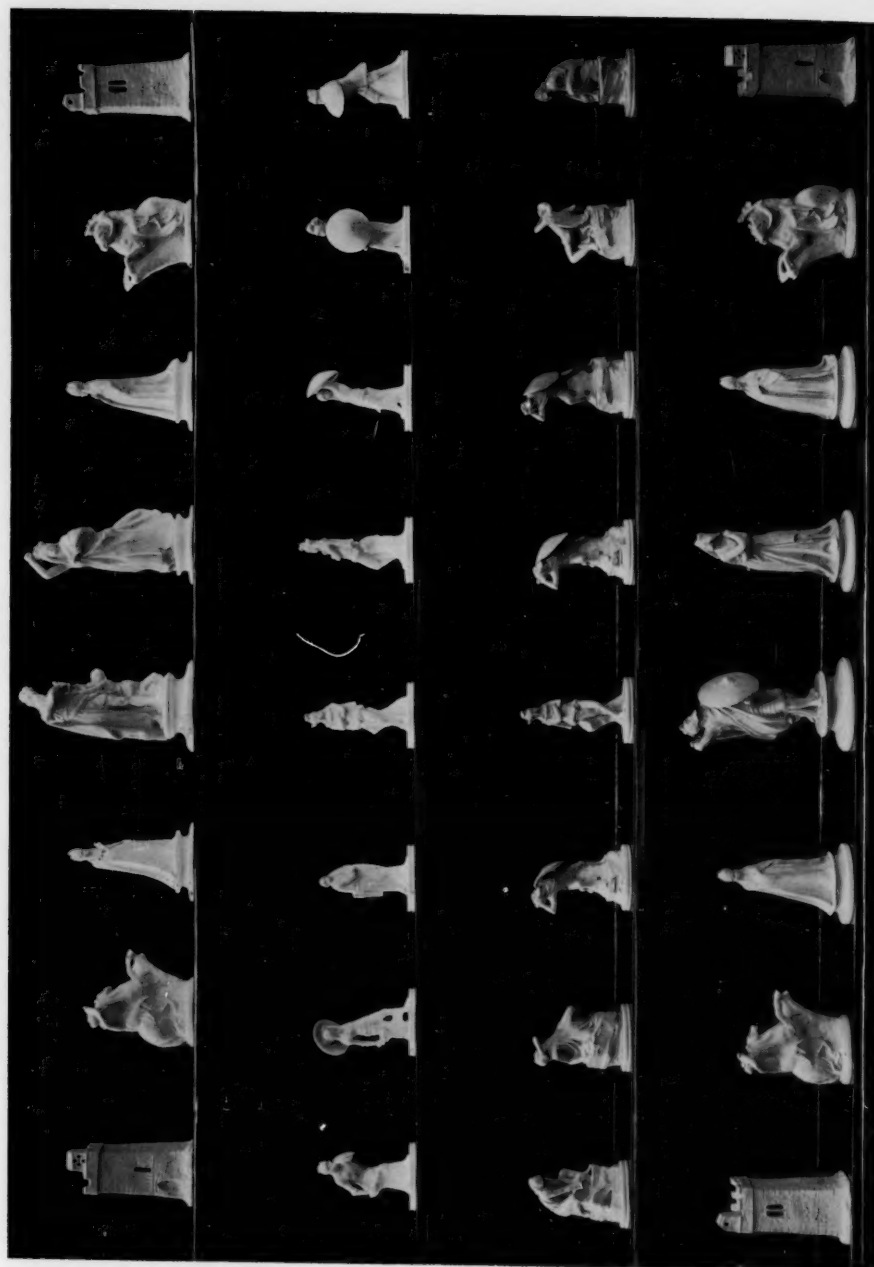
The above is proof of our assumption that the picture of the knowledge of Shakespeare in revolutionary America is sketchy indeed. Time and further research are yet to fill in greater detail.

Queens College, Flushing, N. Y

² *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, p. 153; *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson*, IV, 536.



Thomas McKean's copy of the first American edition of Shakespeare's *Works* (Philadelphia, 1795), with signed binding by John Lightbody, in the ownership of the Library Company of Philadelphia. See pp. 152 ff.



Theatrical chessmen, Staffordshire ware, designed by John Flaxman, 1783, similar to those known to have been used in America. From the originals in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (gift of Gustavus A. Pfeiffer). See pp. 154 ff.



Bust of Shakespeare, Leeds pottery, late 18th century, similar to pieces owned in the Colonies. From the original in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. See pp. 154 ff.



Shakespeare Bas-relief in the marble mantel of the Chase House, Annapolis, Maryland, c.1770. Photo by Pickering Studio, Annapolis, Maryland. See pp. 156 ff.

SHAKESPEARE AND SCIENCE FICTION

ROBERT E. MORSBERGER

Viewers of MGM's 1956 motion picture *Forbidden Planet* probably did not recognize that beneath all the trappings of futuristic science fiction, much of the basic plot comes from Shakespeare's early seventeenth-century play *The Tempest*. *Forbidden Planet's* screenplay by Cyril Hume, from a story by Irving Block and Allen Adler, presents Dr. Morbius (Walter Pidgeon), a scientist whose powers seem as magical as Prospero's, and who with his young daughter is the only survivor on an unknown planet where his space ship was exploring. Here he has built an astral paradise with the aid of Robby the Robot, a servant of his own creation, who combines the good services of Ariel with the ponderousness and grotesque appearance of Caliban and who at the end revolts against his master as Caliban does. Meanwhile, another ship of aerial argonauts lands on the planet, and its captain (Leslie Nielsen) provides the love interest for Dr. Morbius' now grown-up daughter Altaira (Anne Francis), who like Prospero's Miranda has never seen any man but her father. The screenplay even provides a counterpart for Stephano, the drunken butler, in the person of the spacemen's cook, who persuades the robot-Caliban to supply him with booze.

While the motion picture story omits the treachery of Antonio and Sebastian and adds a pseudo-Freudian horror at the climax, it seems quite clear that whether by conscious or unconscious influence, the main situation is almost identical with Shakespeare's old play. But a moment's thought brings the idea that *The Tempest* was science-fiction or at least fantasy-fiction for its seventeenth-century audience, to whom the far Bermoothes were the outer realms of space. And as some modern critics complain of motion picture monsters and marvels, so classicist Ben Jonson complained of Shakespeare's presentation of wonders and objected that with Caliban, Shakespeare graced the stage with monsters.

Utah State University

"SIRRAH, GO HIRE ME TWENTY CUNNING COOKS"

GUNNAR SJÖGREN

Commenting on this order of Capulet's,¹ Furness writes in his Variorum edition of *Romeo and Juliet*: "Steevens turns up his nose aristocratically at Shakespeare for imputing 'to an Italian nobleman and his lady all the petty sollicitudes of a private house, concerning a provincial entertainment' and he adds, very grandly: 'To such a bustle our author might have been witness at home; but the anxieties could not well have occurred in the family of Capulet.' Steevens had not well read the history of society, either in Italy or in England, to have fallen into the error of believing that the great were exempt from such 'anxieties' . . ."

¹ *Romeo and Juliet* IV. ii. 2.

Steevens is defended in an article by Tucker Brooke entitled "Shakespeare remembers his youth in Stratford", first published in 1940 and reprinted in a collection of essays in 1949.² Brooke seriously considers the idea that old Capulet may be a portrait of John Shakespeare and that the depiction of the Capulet household is based on the poet's memories of his early days in Stratford. "The Elizabethans, and Shakespeare among them, habitually saw Italy as a land of high social civilization, where the wealthy classes—however their morals might fester—could at least be sure of suavely perfect service in their homes. The antithesis of all this which one observes in the household of the Capulets at Verona is striking enough to suggest several questions about the play of *Romeo and Juliet*." Brooke draws the conclusion that the behavior of the Capulets must be due to Shakespeare's not knowing any better. He was using the material which would lie within his own experience—his own family background. But is the Capulets' behavior really so improbable—if we disregard the exaggerations inherent in the dramatic form in which they are presented? In Italy, snobbery and class distinctions were by no means so marked as in England. Nobles and princes took part in trade, a thing which their counterparts in England considered to be beneath their dignity. Fynes Moryson noted this difference: "Not only the Gentlemen, but even the Princes of Italy openly professe to be Merchants (which our gentlemen, with leave may I say it, foolishly disdain) and onely permit the retailing of their goods to men of inferiour sort, keeping all trade in grosse or whole sale to themselves."³ Moryson had small opportunity to observe the Italian aristocracy in their homes but he saw them often enough out of doors. He comments: "The women of Italy know not the price of any thing, or ever go to the Markets, neither do they trust their servants to make their market, but the richest of all Italy, and most noble (especially in Venice) daily buy their own victuals and other necessaries. . . . The very Gentlemen of Venice (which notwithstanding arrogate to themselves a preeminence above all Gentlemen of Italy with the singular title of Clarissimi) carry home what they buy to eate, either in the sleeves of their gownes or in a cleane handkercher" (p. 96). Here we get a glimpse of a pattern of living where a type like Capulet, while admittedly extreme in his household worries, would not be regarded in principle as departing from the norm. It was clearly far from unusual for the master of the house himself to do the buying and to take charge of the household affairs.

The Italians themselves were aware that it was not so in other countries. In his well-known account of his travels to France in 1577 the Venetian Lipomano comments on the fact that in France the married women had a liberty and an authority which they did not have in Italy, and that their husbands entrusted the administration of the household to them.⁴ In England, too, the wives had the same independent position as in France. Not only did they have the free management of the house, they commonly left the care of household matters to their servants, writes the Dutchman van Meteren in 1575.⁵ There was

² C. F. Tucker Brooke: *Essays on Shakespeare and other Elizabethans* (London, 1949).

³ Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary*. . . (Glasgow 1907-8), IV, 88.

⁴ Albert Babeau, *Les Voyageurs en France* (Tours, 1928), p. 45.

⁵ *Nederlandsche Historie* (1575), as quoted in J. D. Wilson, *Life in Shakespeare's England*, p. 26.

thus an obvious difference between Italy and the Western European countries which did not fail to strike foreign travellers and which was much commented upon by them.

Nearly two hundred years before Shakespeare's time a merchant called Francesco di Marco Datini lived in Prato in Tuscany, and by a lucky chance his very extensive correspondence has been preserved.⁶ Datini was the richest man in the town, and among the guests in his house were many of the leading personalities of the time, such as the Duke of Mantua, cardinals and foreign ambassadors, and even Louis II of Anjou, who styled himself "King of Sicily and Jerusalem". Yet Datini could never overcome his anxiety when he was expecting guests. His lawyer, a close friend, refrained from visiting him at such times, "for when you have guests, I well know what turmoil you are in." When the French ambassador in Florence was to pay a visit the whole house was turned upside down. Datini wrote to his agent: "I must clear out the whole loggia, which is full of wood and tables from the warehouse and scrap iron. . . . And furthermore the plates and bowls have been scalded, which will be needed for the table; and I must have bread baked, and cannot do it ere Monday; and I must buy some red and white wine . . ." (p. 333).

He often complains that the servants do not treat him with sufficient respect—even his slaves are insolent. He is beside himself with anxiety lest something will be wasted and he pries into the smallest matters. But he can also do things well; when he marries off his natural daughter Ginevra, whose mother was a slave, he gives a grand wedding for her; a special cook is engaged for the occasion and is paid a princely sum for this single meal. Six extra servants, besides those of his regular household, wait at table, and are supplied with new tunics of scarlet cloth, and new hose (p. 190).

Datini engages cooks, he sees to it that bread is baked, he brings home wine—in other words he has the same troubles as Capulet and he fusses just as much as Capulet does. He is a clever and successful business man but at home he appears as a petulant, niggardly, fussy and rather ridiculous tyrant. It is easy to see how closely he and Capulet resemble each other. From the observations of Moryson and Lippomano we gather that later Renaissance Italian noblemen still had this feeling of direct responsibility for the household as in Datini's time, and we can readily imagine that this concern may have expressed itself in the same way as with him.⁷

For those among Shakespeare's audience who had been in Italy or were acquainted with Italian ways of life, Capulet must have appeared as an easily recognizable caricature of an Italian nobleman with an attitude to household affairs very different from the one obtaining among the English upper classes. It is difficult to believe that Shakespeare himself was unaware of this and that the result was only due to the happy chance that in his ignorance and simplicity he modelled Capulet on his own father, the glover John Shakespeare.

Stockholm

⁶ Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato* (London, 1957).

⁷ In Italy today this custom is no longer observed, but it still lives on in Greece, where even highly placed officials usually do a little marketing before going to their work and send home carefully chosen joints of meat, freshly caught fish or fine fruit—women not being trusted with the purchasing of such things.

Notes and Comments

FRONTISPIECE AND ILLUSTRATIONS

The first American engraving of Shakespeare, attributed to James Trenchard, a Philadelphia artist, is reproduced as the Frontispiece (see pp. 157 ff. for an account of it). The illustrations on pages 102, 114, and 126 are three of the pegmes erected in the city of London to celebrate the first progress through the City of King James I (see *SQ*, XII, 86 for further details).

THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY OF JAPAN

On 23 April 1961, Shakespeare's birthday was celebrated in Tokyo by the organization of The Shakespeare Society of Japan. Professor Fumio Nakajima of Tokyo University was elected President. The chief activity of the Association will be the publication of an annual volume of Elizabethan studies, with all articles written in English. Essays by foreign scholars are invited, membership in the Association being prerequisite to acceptance and publication (annual dues: \$2.80 p.a.). In due time, there is hope for the exchange of scholars with other countries.

During the last ten years, there has been great activity among Japanese Shakespeare scholars, who have produced many editions of the Works in English and many translations into Japanese. A number of volumes of criticism have been published, and Japanese scholars are appearing in print in other lands. The Shakespeare Association of America wishes long life and prosperity to The Shakespeare Society of Japan.

CURRENT THEATRE NOTES

This valuable feature will be compiled in 1961 by Mr. Thomas Kilfoil, of the Library of Speech Recording, Columbia University, following the resignation of Dr. Alice Griffin (see below page 165). Mr. Kilfoil's residential address is 549 W. 123rd Street, New York City, and regular correspondents are requested to send him the reports, programs, and pictures that hitherto had been sent to Dr. Griffin.

Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., was held at the offices of the Secretary-Treasurer on 5 April 1961 at 4 p.m., with the President, Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, in the chair. The reports of the Secretary and the Treasurer were presented and accepted. More than one hundred new members had been received during the fiscal year 1960-61. In the reports of Professor W. T. Hastings, Chairman of the Advisory Board, and of Dr. James G. McManaway, Chairman of the Editorial Board, there was strong commendation for the work of Professor Robert W. Dent for his Annual Bibliography of Shakespeare (as also of his predecessors, Professor Sidney Thomas and Professor Paul Jorgensen) and of Dr. Alice V. Griffin for her Current Theatre Notes. There was emphasis upon the responsibility of the Association to further Shakespeare studies by the recognition and encouragement of young scholars, both by the publication of their essays and by giving them opportunities to review books in *Shakespeare Quarterly*. In her presidential report, Mrs. Hyde took special note of the devoted work of Dr. Griffin, who had felt it necessary to terminate her collection of Current Theatre Notes. The publication of this feature and of photographs of Shakespearian productions has fostered extensive correspondence among people who are producing and directing Shakespeare's plays. Plans were discussed for the celebration in 1964 of the quatercentenary of Shakespeare's birth, and it was agreed that the annual meeting in 1962 should include a literary feature. In the absence of Mr. Robert H. Taylor, Chairman, Mr. Frederick B. Adams presented the report of the Nominating Committee, following the reading of which the following were elected Directors for the ensuing year: Mr. Frederick B. Adams, Jr., Mr. C. Waller Barrett, Mr. John F. Fleming, Mr. William G. Foulke, Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., Mr. Donald F. Hyde, Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, Dr. James G. McManaway, Mr. Joseph Verner Reed, and Mr. Robert H. Taylor.

Following the adjournment of the Annual Meeting, the Directors met and re-elected the officers and the two boards. The Directors gave formal thanks to Professor Dent, the Bibliographer, and to Dr. Griffin, who can no longer compile Current Theatre Notes. The President was charged with the difficult responsibility of finding a successor.

Contributors

Dr. J. LEEDS BARROLL, III, is Associate Professor of English at McMickan College, The University of Cincinnati.

FLORENCE WARNER BROWN (Mrs. Wolstan C. Brown) secured her doctorate of philosophy at the University of London, writing on Shakespeare on the modern English stage.

Professor CARROLL CAMDEN, of Rice University, has written at length on life in Elizabethan England.

MARIAN S. CARSON (Mrs. Joseph Carson), a collector of prints, books, and manuscripts relating to Philadelphia, is co-author of a study of John Bioren, early Philadelphia printer.

Professor ROBERT W. DENT, University of California at Los Angeles, is Bibliographer for the Shakespeare Association of America.

Professor AÍLA DE OLIVEIRA GOMES is Chairman of the Department of English, the University of Brazil.

Professor JOHN E. HANKINS, Chairman of the Department of English at the University of Maine, is author of studies of *Hamlet*.

Dr. WILLIAM T. HASTINGS, Professor Emeritus of Brown University, is Chairman of the Advisory Board of *Shakespeare Quarterly*.

HANFORD HENDERSON is a member of the English Department of St. Mary's Junior College, Maryland.

Dr. JULIAN MARKELS is a member of the English Department of Ohio State University.

Sister MIRIAM JOSEPH, C.S.C., of Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, is author of *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language*.

Professor ROBERT E. MORSBERGER, of Utah State University, is one of a growing number of Americans who have studied at the Shakespeare Institute in Stratford-upon-Avon.

FREDERICK J. POHL writes on subjects as diverse as vikings, Amerigo Vespucci, and Shakespeare.

Dr. RAYMOND H. RENO, of Georgetown University, is particularly interested in the theological background of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and in *Antony and Cleopatra*.

Mrs. EVELYN GIBBS ROGERS is Instructor in English at the University of Maryland.

FRANK H. ROUDA, formerly Instructor in English at Kenyon College, has been living abroad while he completes some critical essays and a longer work now in progress.

Dr. ERNST J. SCHLOCHAUER is Instructor in English at Queens College, Flushing, N. Y.

Dr. DANIEL SELTZER, Instructor in English at Harvard, is editing John Pickering's *Horestes* for the Malone Society.

GUNNAR SJÖGREN is the author of *Var Othello Neger?*

Professor THOMAS B. STROUP, Chairman of the Department of English at the University of Kentucky, is editor of *Selected Poems* of George Daniel.

Dr. EDWIN WOLF, II, is Director of The Library Company of Philadelphia.

Shakespeare: An Annotated Bibliography for 1960

ROBERT W. DENT, Editor

University of California, Los Angeles

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THE following bibliography, which includes only works directly relating to Shakespeare, attempts to list all items of interest to the scholar, the actor and producer, and the general reader. A number of books and articles which may be of use to those concerned with Shakespeare have therefore been included, even though they do not represent original contributions to knowledge or criticism. And although no attempt has been made to achieve exhaustive coverage of journalistic reviews of productions or books, there will usually be found a representative body of such selections—particularly those of foreign origin and those dealing with Shakespearean festivals. Similarly with new printings of previously issued editions or studies: these are recorded

whenever there has been substantial revision or whenever they come from foreign countries, where re-issues or editions and translations are significant indications of a continuing interest in Shakespeare. All reviews have been grouped under the books they deal with, even if these books have been included in previous bibliographies. In such instances, however, the description of the book has been given in short form. The year 1960 is always to be understood if no other year is mentioned.

A few articles in Eastern European languages (e.g., no. 244), available only through the Library of Congress Slavic Accessions list, are recorded with titles in English rather than in the original tongues.

The annotations are designed to indicate the subject matter or argument of the items listed. In no sense are they intended as criticisms of the books or articles which they describe. Certain significant works are not annotated because their titles sufficiently indicate their content. The length of the annotation is also no guide to the importance of the item. Some items are listed without annotation because they have not yet become available here.

Analytical entries in the Index are collected under the name of William Shakespeare.

Alan Crowne contributed substantially to the preparation of this bibliography. Appreciation for many courtesies is due the staffs of the University of California Library and the Huntington Library. Distinguished scholars from many countries, serving as members of the Committee of Correspondents, have contributed greatly toward broadening the scope of the bibliography and increasing its usefulness.

The editor would appreciate receiving notices of books and offprints or summaries of articles and reviews dealing with Shakespeare, in order to insure as complete a coverage of the field as possible.

The following abbreviations have been regularly used:

CE	—College English	RN	—Renaissance News
DA	—Dissertation Abstracts	SB	—Studies in Bibliography
EA	—Études Anglaises	SJ	—Shakespeare Jahrbuch
EC	—Essays in Criticism	SNL	—Shakespeare Newsletter
ES	—English Studies	SP	—Studies in Philology
JEGP	—Journal of English and Germanic Philology	SQ	—Shakespeare Quarterly
MLN	—Modern Language Notes	SS	—Shakespeare Survey
MLQ	—Modern Language Quarterly	TLS	—Times Literary Supplement
MLR	—Modern Language Review	All's W.	Antony, A.Y.L., Caesar, Cor.,
MP	—Modern Philology	Cym., Errors, Ham., 1, 2	H. IV, H. V, 1, 2,
NM	—Neuphilologische Mitteilungen	3 H. VI, H. VIII, John, Lear, L.L.L., Lov.	
N&Q	—Notes and Queries	Com., Lucr., Macb., Meas., Merch., Wives,	
PBSA	—Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America	Dream, Much, Oth., Pass. Pil., Per., Phoenix,	
PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Association	R. II, R. III, Romeo, Shrew, Sonn., Temp.,	
RES	—Review of English Studies	Tim., Titus, Troi., Twel., T.G.V., T.N.K.,	
		Venus, W.T.	
		Shak.—Shakespeare	
		Shak.'s—Shakespeare's	

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The morality plays help us understand *Shak.*'s use of a recognition scene to bring the protagonist to contrition and spiritual restoration.
360. Crinò, Anna Maria. "Shakespeare Studies in Italy", *SNL*, X, p. 16.
A brief survey of *Shak.* studies of the past decade by Valentina Capocci, Augusto Guidi, Salvatore Rosati, and the author.
- 360a. Crow, John. "Textual Criticism", *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XX, 455-457. London, New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1959.
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362. Cunningham, James Vincent. *Tradition and Poetic Structure: essays in literary history and criticism*. Denver: A. Swallow. Pp. 273.
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364. Cutts, John P. "Falstaff's 'Heavenlie Iewel'. Incidental Music for *The Merry Wives of Windsor*", *SQ*, XI, 89-92.
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367. ——. "Pericles 'Most Heauenly Musicke'", *N&Q*, n.s., VII, 172-174.
The music of the spheres (*Per.* V.i.224-237), probably made audible

- to *Shak.*'s audience, is a thematic prologue to the removal of discord from Pericles' life.
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370. ———. "Speak—Demand—We'll Answer' Hecat(e) and 'The Other Three Witches'", *SJ*, XCVI, 173-176.
A continuation of the debate with Richard Flatter (see 1957 Bibl., no. 343; 1958 Bibl., no. 348; 1959 Bibl., no. 387) on the Hecate scenes. Dr. Flatter [who died Nov. 5, 1960] adds a final rejoinder (pp. 192-193).
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373. Danby, John F. "Shakespeare Criticism and 'Two Gentlemen of Verona'", *Critical Quarterly*, II, 309-321.
An estimate of contemporary *Shak.* criticism introduces a reevaluation of *T.G.V.*, a play existing "to put before us, sometimes schematically, in plot, poetry, and *persona*, the cosmic dance of meeting and parting and meeting again, an optimistic view of things which assumes that every culpability can also be felicitous".
374. ———. "The Tragedies", *The Living Shakespeare* (no. 455), pp. 113-126.
375. Daneš, Ladislav. "Shakespeare upon Avon", *Literární noviny* (Prah), Aug. 27, p. 8.
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378. Dasgupta, Arun Kumar. "A Note on *Macbeth* II.ii.61-63", *N&Q*, n.s., VII, 332-333.
The bloody hand—bloody seas extension is a macrocosmic analogy implying the hugeness of *Macbeth*'s crime.
379. David, Richard. "The Comedies", *The Living Shakespeare* (no. 455), pp. 84-98.
380. ———. "The Shape of Shakespeare's Plays", *The Living Shakespeare* (no. 455), pp. 54-60.
381. Davis, E. "Shakespeare's Conception of Honour", *English Studies in Africa*, III, 31-34.
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A review of France Anders' newly published study of Copeau, "en guise d'introduction" to Helena Slaughter's article on Copeau's work with *Shak.* (no. 846).
384. ———. "Les Mises en scène de Pitoëff", *EA*, XIII, 192-196.
"Notons que Shakespeare, une fois de plus, a été l'inspirateur et le maître de l'acteur comme du metteur en scène, et on peut avancer que

- c'est au contact de Shakespeare que Pitoëff a donné le meilleur de lui-même".
385. ———. "Les Pionniers", *EA*, XIII, 162-171.
On the pre-Cartel pioneers: Antoine, Lugné-Poe, and Gémier.
- 385a. Dawson, Giles E. "The Anti-Shakespearean Theories", *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XX, 457-458. London, New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1959.
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By the producer of the Holland Festival *Troi*. Withdrawing from the "heights" to give "free rein to his despair and disgust with a world bent on living under the terror of war", *Shak.* wrote a play with great modern appeal.
387. Denney, Joseph Villiers. "Shakespeare's Philosophy of Ignorance", *Ohio State Univ. Monthly*, May, pp. 10-11, 31.
388. Dent, Robert W. *John Webster's Borrowing*. California U. P. Pp. 323.
Includes frequent citation of, and comparison with, *Shak.*
389. De Selincourt, Aubrey. *Six Great Playwrights*. New York: Hamilton. Pp. 192.
Includes section on *Shak.*, pp. 41-73. For juveniles.
390. Dickey, Franklin. "The Old Man at Work: Forgeries in the Stationers' Registers", *SQ*, XI, 39-47.
Lists, with supporting evidence, Collier's probable forgeries in the Stationers' Registers.
391. Dickamp, Leo. "Die Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft im Geschäftsjahr 1959/60", *SJ*, XCVI, 265-266.
392. Dobin, E. "Shakespeare Read Anew", *Neva* (Leningrad), no. 6, pp. 202-204.
393. Dobrée, Bonamy. "The Last Plays", *The Living Shakespeare* (no. 455), pp. 140-154.
394. Dobson, E. J. *English Pronunciation 1500-1700*. Oxford U. P., 1957.
Rev.: Bror Danielsson, *SQ*, XI, 488-489.
395. Dorius, R. J. "A Little More than a Little", *SQ*, XI, 13-26.
1 *H. IV*, III.ii.72-73 speaks the motto of *R. II—H. V*. Imagery and symbols reinforce the pervasive theme of "good husbandry", perhaps most significantly in the handling of Richard II and Falstaff.
396. Draper, John W. "Dramatic Irony in Shakespeare's Earlier Plays", *West Virginia Univ. Philological Papers*, XII (1959), 1-11.
Dramatic irony appears most fully in *Twel.*, *Ham.*, and *Oth.*, appropriately since these are "perhaps his most realistic plays". In simpler forms it appears in play after play.
397. ———. "Shakespeare's Use of the Grand Entry", *Neophilologus*, XLIV, 128-135.
398. ———. "Subjective Conflict in Shakespearean Tragedy", *NM*, LXI, 214-221.
Shak.'s tragedies become increasingly built on conflict originating within the protagonist.
399. ———. *The Tempo-Patterns of Shakespeare's Plays*. Heidelberg, 1957.
Rev.: J. Kleinstück, *Die Neueren Sprachen*, VIII (1959), 100-101; F. W. Schulze, *Zeitschrift f. Angl. u. Amer.*, VII (1959), 202-207.
- 399a. Drew, Philip. "Edward Daunce and *The Unfortunate Traveller*", *RES*, n.s., XI, 410-412.
Notes incidentally that revenge on the soul as well as on the body is sought, as in *Ham.*
400. ———. "Hawks and Handsaws", *SQ*, XI, 495.
"Handsaw" as a conjectural variant of "heronshaw" (*Ham.* II.ii.397) receives some support from a Ren. passage on the "natural hatred" of the heronshaw for the hawk.
- 400a. Driver, Olive Elisabeth. *The Bacon-Shakespeare Mystery*. Northampton, Mass.: Kraushar. Pp. 279.
Anti-Stratfordian.

- 400b. Driver, Tom Faw. "Gimmickry on the Avon", *Christian Century*, LXXVII, 973-974.
401. Driver, Tom Faw. *The Sense of History in Greek and Shakespearean Drama*. Columbia U. P. Pp. viii + 231.
Compares Greek dramas with R. III, Ham., W.T.
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402. Edinborough, Arnold. "Arstistic Success in Canada", *SQ*, XI, 455-459.
John, Romeo, and *Dream* at Stratford, Ontario.
403. ———. "Stratford's Slow but Solid Start", *Saturday Night*, Jul. 23, pp. 12-14.
404. Edwards, H. R. L. "'Atorno, Atorno'", *TLS*, Jun. 10, p. 369.
In *Shakespeare's Wooden O*, Hotson at least once allows "round" to mean "not all round", thereby undermining his basic thesis.
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406. Elling, Christian. *Shakespeare: Indsyn i Hans Verden og Dens Poesi*. Copenhagen, 1959.
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2nd ed., revised and enlarged (1960). Pp. 280.
408. Elliott, Robert C. *The Power of Satire*. Princeton U. P. Pp. 312.
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409. Ellis, Brobury Pearce. "The True Original Copies", *Tulane Drama Review*, V, 113-116.
- Heminges and Condell were "theatre men", and their phrase describing the copy text for F 1 should be understood accordingly.
410. Ellis-Fermor, Una. "The Nature of Plot in Drama", *Essays and Studies*, XIII, 65-81.
From one of the manuscript chapters of the late Miss Ellis-Fermor's uncompleted *Shakespeare the Dramatist*. Spatial and temporal aspects of effective plot are illustrated principally by *Dream*, *Antony*, and *Macb*.
411. Emery, John P. "The Dumb-Show in 'Hamlet'", *N&Q*, n.s., VII, 77-78.
The dumb show allows the audience to focus its subsequent attention on Claudius, Gertrude, and Hamlet, without having to listen to the "humdrum" play-within-the-play.
412. ———. "Othello's Epilepsy", *Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalytic Review*, XLVI, 30-32.
In *Oth*. IV.i.35-80 Shak. accurately depicts Othello's trance as epilepsy and supports his picture with appropriate sexual imagery.
413. Engberg, Harald. "W. Shakespeare—*Hamlet*", *Politiken* (Copenhagen), Mar. 29.
On performance at Dramatical Theatre, Stockholm.
414. Enright, D. J. "The Next Step in Shakespeare Interpretation", *Hiroshima Studies in English Language and Literature*, V.i (1958), 1-7.
Recommends a moderate reaction from the obsession with imagery, symbolism, and ambiguity of the last 40 years.
415. Ertuğrul, Muhsin. "Amerikada Tiyatro ('The Theater in America')", *Türk Tiyatrosu*, Mar., pp. 10-13.
416. Evans, B. Ifor. *The Language of Shakespeare's Plays*. 2nd ed. London: Methuen. Pp. xi + 216.
417. Evans, Bertrand. *Shakespeare's Comedies*. Oxford U. P. Pp. xiii + 337.
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Rev.: Roy Walker, *Listener*, LXIV, 753; *TLS*, Dec. 2, p. 784; D. J.

- Palmer, *Critical Quarterly*, II, 380-381.
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419. Everett, Barbara. "The Figure in Professor Knights' Carpet", *Critical Quarterly*, II, 171-176.
Review article on no. 594 below.
"It is a pity, when poetry and morality are two of the great gifts of civilisation, that they should ever be so confused that each loses its character".
For a rejoinder, defending a moral approach to *Shak.* interpretation, see Raymond Southall, "Morality and *King Lear*", pp. 267-269.
420. ———. "The New King Lear", *Critical Quarterly*, II, 325-339.
Modern emphases on *Lear* as optimistic morality play have unduly narrowed the complexity of the physical-spiritual relationship in the play.
421. Fagin, N. Bryllion. "Segregated Shakespeare", *Commonweal*, LXXI, 591-592.
On the problems of teaching *Shak.* to negro college students in the segregated South.
422. Felver, Charles S. "A Proverb Turned Jest in *Measure For Measure*", *SQ*, XI, 385-387.
Meas. V.i.169-180, based on a proverb (Tilley, M 26), provides a little late "divertissement". Although the proverb is in Whetstone, *Shak.*'s development strikingly follows that in Armin's *Quips upon Questions* (1600).
423. Ferguson, W. Craig. "The Compositors of *Henry IV, Part 2*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *The Shoemakers' Holiday*, and *The First Part of the Contention*", *SB*, XIII, 19-29.
On compositorial practice in Valentine Simmes's shop, 1600. A single compositor (A) set all of Q 1 2 H. IV and Q 1 *Much*, plus most of Q 2 *Contention* and a small part of Q 1 *Shoemakers' Holiday*.
424. "Festival Season Will Be Lively", *Financial Post* (Canada), Jan. 23, p. 13. Stratford, Ontario *Shak.* Festival.
425. Findlater, Richard. "Things to Come", *Time and Tide*, Aug. 13, p. 951.
Twel., *Shrew* and *Troi.* at Stratford-on-Avon.
426. ———. "Top of the Form at Stratford", *Time and Tide*, Sep. 10, p. 1066.
Twel. and T.G.V. at Stratford-on-Avon.
427. ———. "Two Gents at Stratford", *Twentieth Century*, Jun., pp. 550-554.
428. Flatter, Richard. "Einiges über die Schreib- und Rechtschreib-Eigenheiten Shakespeares", *SJ*, XCVI, 161-172.
Inconsistencies in spelling are no clue to *Shak.*'s authorship. As for "superfluous" commas, they are not superfluous, but stage-directions.
429. ———. "Pathos und Naturalismus in der Diktion Shakespeares", in *Festschrift für Erich Przywara* (1959), pp. 75 ff.
430. ———. "The Question of Free Will, and Other Observations on *Macbeth*", *English Miscellany* (Rome), X (1959), 78-105.
431. ———. "Solid" or "Sullied", and Another Query", *SQ*, XI, 490-493.
"Solid", meaning "to disappear from sight", seems indisputably preferable, Dover Wilson notwithstanding. So too, there is no reason to think Hamlet meant "bawdy-house" when he said "nunnery".
432. Fleissner, Robert F. "The Misused Sacrament in *King John*", *SNL*, X, 28.
John's neglect or scorn of holy sacraments prepares us for his fall.
433. Fleming, Joan. *Shakespeare's Country in Colour*. London: Batsford. Pp. 96.
Color photographs with an accompanying tour in prose.
434. Fluchère, Henri. "La damnation de Macbeth"; *Nouvelle Nouvelle Revue*

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435. ———. *Shakespeare and the Elizabethans*, tr. Guy Hamilton. New York, 1956.
Rev.: R. M. D. Wainwright, *Shakespearean Authorship Review*, no. 4, pp. 10-13.
436. Foakes, R. A. and R. T. Rickert. "An Elizabethan Stage Drawing?", *SS* 13, pp. 111-112.
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Rev.: C. J. Sisson, *RES*, n.s., XI, 199-200 (1958 booklets); Waveney R. N. Payne, *SQ*, XI, 484-485.
438. Fort, J. B. "François-Victor Hugo, traducteur de Shakespeare", *EA*, XIII, 106-116.
439. Foster, Guy L. "Teaching *Julius Caesar* to Slow Learners", *English Journal*, XLIX, 632-634.
Shak. in the secondary schools.
440. Fox, Levi. "The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford-Upon-Avon: Proposed New Library and Headquarters", *Theatre Notebook*, XIV, 90-91.
441. ———. *Shakespeare's Town and Country*, described by Levi Fox. Norwich: Jarrolds. Pp. 48.
442. Fraser, Russell A. "Pope and Shakespeare", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LIX, 88-102.
Ironically and unintentionally, Pope marks a transition from the views of *Shak.* to those of our own day, which denigrate man.
443. Fredén, Gustaf. *William Shakespeare. Handbok till radioteatern*. Stockholm: Sveriges Radio. Pp. 140.
1958 work rewritten and enlarged. Includes an important contribution: Sigvard Mårtensson, "Shakespeare på svenska scener".
444. Freudenstein, Reinhold. *Der bestrafte Brudermord. Shakespeares "Hamlet" auf der Wanderbühne des 17. Jhd.* Hamburg, 1958.
Rev.: Willi Flemming, *Anglia*, LXXVIII, 97-99; Lawrence M. Price, *Comparative Literature*, XII, 180-181; H. Schnyder, *Archiv*, CXCVI (1959), 207-208; R. Haas, *Die Neueren Sprachen*, VIII (1959), 386-387.
- 444a. Fricker, Robert. "Hamlet: Mensch und Vorsehung", *Anglia*, LXXVIII, 317-340.
445. Friedman, W. F. and Elizebeth S. *The Shakespearean Cyphers Examined*. Cambridge, 1957.
Rev.: Karl Brunner, *Anglia*, LXXVII (1959), 94-95; P. Neumann, *Antiquariat*, XIV (1958), 262; J. den Haan, *Litterair Paspoort*, 1958, pp. 6-8.
446. Fukuhara, Rintaro. "Kyoshitsu no Sheikusupia ('Teaching *Shak.* in the Classroom')", *Rising Generation*, CVI.4, 174-175.
Evaluates various 20th-century editions for classroom purposes.
447. Gabriel, Vladimír. "Divadlo bez kulís", *Kultura* (Praha), Jun. 30, p. 4.
On open-air production of *Dream* with revolving auditorium, park of Krumlov Castle (South Bohemia).
448. Galinsky, Hans. "Anne Bradstreet, Du Bartas und Shakespeare im Zusammenhang kolonialer Verpflanzung und Umformung europäischer Kultur: Ein Forschungsbericht und eine Hypothese", in *Festschrift für Walter Fischer* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1959), pp. 145-180.
449. Galloway, David. "Fluellen", *N&Q*, n.s., VI (1959), 116.
Suggests Fluellen should remain on stage in *H. V.*, III.ii.29, the "boy's so-called soliloquy" being either an aside or addressed to Fluellen.
450. Garrett, John (ed.). *More Talking of Shakespeare*. London, 1959.
Rev.: Hermann Heuer, *SJ*, XCVI, 254-255; Sylvan Barnet, *Educational Theatre Journal*, XII, 234, 235; Kenneth Muir, *RES*, n.s., XI, 426-429.
451. George, G. "White Noise and Breaking Crockery", *Saturday Night* (Canada), Sep. 17, pp. 17-20.
452. Gérard, Albert S. "The Stone as Lily: A Discussion of Shakespeare's Sonnet XCIV", *SJ*, XCVI, 155-160.

- A fresh interpretation of the sonnet, finding it free of metaphysical ironies and moving basically by indirection, not ambiguity.
453. Gilbert, Allan. *The Principles and Practice of Criticism: Hamlet, The Merry Wives, Othello*. Wayne State U. P., 1959.
Rev.: Louis Marder, *SNL*, X, 29; Paul N. Siegel, *SQ*, XI, 372-373; Carol J. Carlisle, *Explicator*, Mar., Rev. 4; Hermann Heuer, *SJ*, XCVI, 250-251.
454. Gilbert, C. G. "Macbeth V.iii.22", *N&Q*, n.s., VII, 333-334.
The conjectured "May of life", while probably to be rejected, receives some support from parallel image clusters in *L.L.L.*
455. Gittings, Robert (ed.). *The Living Shakespeare*. London: Heinemann. Pp. 154.
Fifteen introductory essays, based on BBC talks, with a preface by the editor. See nos. 372, 374, 379, 380, 393, 475, 524, 592, 637, 679, 771, 839, 939, 940, 962.
Rev.: *TLS*, Jul. 29, p. 482; Bengt Lindberg, *Östgöta Correspondenten* (Norrköping), Aug. 8; Michael Anderson, *New Theatre*, Oct., pp. 31-32; Graham Martin, *New Statesman*, Aug. 6, p. 193.
456. ——. *Shakespeare's Rival*. London: Heinemann. Pp. 168.
Proposes Gervase Markham as the rival poet of *Sonn.*
Rev.: Kenneth Muir, *Listener*, Nov. 24, p. 947.
457. Gleckner, Robert F. "Eliot's 'The Hollow Men' and Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*", *MLN*, LXXV, 26-28.
Caesar is a "pervasive force" in Eliot's poem.
458. Goddard, Harold Clarke. *The Meaning of Shakespeare*. Chicago U. P. Vol. I, pp. xiii + 393. Vol. II, pp. v + 300.
Paperback reprint of this 1951 study.
459. Granlid, Hans O. "En Midsommar-nattsdröm", *Tidning för Sveriges läroverk* (Stockholm), LX.17, 544.
460. Granville-Barker, Harley and G. B. Harrison (edd.). *Companion to Shakespeare Studies* (Doubleday Anchor). New York: Doubleday. Pp. 390.
Paperback reprint.
461. Granville-Barker, Harley. *Introduzione all'Amleto*. Pref. di Luigi Squarzina (Biblioteca di cultura moderna). Bari: Laterza, 1959. Pp. xxv + 310.
462. Grebanier, Bernard. *The Heart of Hamlet: the play Shakespeare wrote*. New York: Crowell. Pp. 311.
An alternate edition (pp. viii + 490) includes the text of *Ham.*
Rev.: Louis Marder, *SNL*, X, 29; George Freedley, *Theater Arts*, Nov., p. 6.
463. Greene, Thomas. "The Postures of Hamlet", *SQ*, XI, 357-366.
"To gain the capacity for violence", Hamlet by the end of the play "has given up the impulse to moral judgment", thereby becoming of less "tragic dimensions".
464. Griffin, Alice. "The Season in New York", *SQ*, XI, 467-468.
1, 2 *H. IV* at the Phoenix Theatre; *H. V* and *Shrew* at New York *Shak.* Festival.
465. Grill, Cynthia. "Antony, Cleopatra, and Proculeius", *N&Q*, n.s., VII, 191.
Antony's counsel to trust Proculeius is thematically appropriate bunting, "ironic testimony" of his divorce from Rome and reason.
466. Grivelet, Michel. "La Critique dramatique française devant Shakespeare", *EA*, XIII, 264-282.
A half century of *Shak.* production in France as seen by the reviewers.
467. Guerin, Daniel. *Shakespeare and Gide*. Editions du Scorpion. Paris: Jean d'Halluin.
"Love in Shakespeare's Sonnets" (pp. 13-56) concerns *Shak.*'s supposed homosexuality.
468. Guha, P. K. "Character and Catastrophe in Shakespearean Tragedy", *Jammu & Kashmir Univ. Review* (Srinagar), II.2 (1959), 60-81.
Denies "Character is Destiny", arguing that in *Shak.* "the tragedy lies in the cutting-off of the nexus be-

tween character and act, between native instinct and the impulse that leads the hero to his fatal deed". "The real character, submerged and suspended by the tragic situation, comes out in the mad or semi-mad state".

469. —. "Shakespeare's Comic Spirit", *Jammu & Kashmir Univ. Review*, III.1, 32-51.
The distinctive *Shak.* comic spirit, informing even the tragedies, involves "the loving acceptance of the whole of life, a mood of universal tolerance . . . , a sympathetic attitude towards the mistakes and errors of men".
470. Gundolf, Friedrich. *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist*. 11. Aufl. München: Küpper vorm Bondi, 1959. Pp. 316.
471. —. "Das Wintermärchen", *Das neue Forum* (Darmstadt), VIII (1958/59), 19-22.
472. Gurzki, H. "Shakespeare und das christliche Drama", *Blätter d. Ges. f. christl. Kultur* (Düsseldorf), L.10 (1958), 4-7.
473. Guthke, Karl S. "Lichtenbergs Shakespeare-Auffassung", *SJ*, XCVI, 90-105.
Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742-1799) was the most interesting and original figure in *Shak.* criticism of the German Sturm und Drang period.
474. Guthrie, Tyrone. *A Life in the Theatre*. London: Hamish Hamilton. Pp. 320.
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475. —. "A Modern Producer and the Plays", *The Living Shakespeare* (no. 455), pp. 76-83.
- 475a. —. "Why and How they play Hamlet", *New York Times Magazine*, Aug. 14, pp. 24-25.
476. Gutteling, J. F. C. *Bezinningen. -s'Gravenhage: Stols*, 1959. Pp. 244.
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477. Hagopian, John V. "Psychology and the Coherent Form of Shakespeare's *Othello*", *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, XLV, 373-380.
A psychoanalytic approach to subconscious motivations in *Oth.*
478. Hájek, Jiří. "O Shakespeara našeho času", *Divadelní noviny* (Praha), Mar. 30, p. 4.
On two recent productions in Prague, of *Cor.* and *Ham.*
479. Halliday, F. E. *Shakespeare. En bildbiografi* [see 1956 Bibl., no. 352, for original English edition]. Text by Gunnar Sjögren. Stockholm: Natur och kultur.
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480. Hallström, Björn. "Skrev Bacon drama och icke Shakespeare?", *Skånska Dagbladet* (Malmö), Feb. 5.
Bacon or Shakespeare?
481. "Hamlet". Production by Dramatiska teatern, Stockholm, reviewed by Tord Bäckström, *Göteborgs Handelstidning*, Mar. 26; Hans Bergraham, *Kvällsposten* (Malmö), Mar. 26; Clas Brunius, *Expressen* (Stockholm), Mar. 26; Allan Fagerström, *Aftonbladet*, Mar. 26; Lennart Josephson, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* (Malmö), Mar. 26; Per Erik Wahlund, *Svenska Dagbladet* (Stockholm), Mar. 26; Ebbe Linde, *Dagens Nyheter*, Mar. 26 (further discussed by Gerhard Arfwedson, Ap. 2; Karl Erik Lagerlöf, Ap. 8).
482. Hankiss, Elemer. "A Hamlet-élmény elemzése", *Yearbook of the National Széchenyi Library* (Budapest, 1958), pp. 160-182.
483. Hanratty, Jerome. "School Plays in Production: 'Arden of Feversham'", *Use of English*, XI, 176-180.
484. Hard, Charles Frederick. *The Sculptured Scenes from Shakespeare*. Washington, D. C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1959. Pp. 27.

- Description of John Gregory's marble reliefs on the Folger Shakespeare Library. Illus.
485. Hardison, O. B., Jr. "The Dramatic Triad in *Hamlet*", *SP*, LVII, 144-164.
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486. Harkness, David J. and R. Gerald McMurtry. *Lincoln's Favorite Poets*. Tennessee U. P., 1959. Pp. [vi] + 101.
Rev.: David C. Mearns, *SQ*, XI, 222 (with resulting letters by E. P. Kuhl and the reviewer, p. 499).
487. Harvey, John. *Macbeth* (Notes on English Literature, ed. John Harvey). Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. [5] + 59.
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488. Hashimoto, Osamu. "Henri Gosei Kaishetsu ('H. V: an Attempt at Interpretation')", *Bull. of the Faculty of Humanities, Meiji Univ.* (Tokyo), Ap., pp. 68-92.
489. Hathorn, Richmond Y. "Lear's Equations", *Centennial Review*, IV, 51-69.
490. Hawkes, Terence. "The Fool's Prophecy" in *King Lear*, *N&Q*, n.s., VII, 331-332.
Lear III.ii.81-96 parodies a tradition centuries older than Puttenham.
491. —. "Hamlet's 'Apprehension'", *MLR*, LV, 238-241.
Q 2 gives the correct reading for II.ii.307ff. Hamlet's comparing human "apprehension" to that of an angel is consistent with medieval and Ren. belief.
492. Haywood, Charles. "William Boyce's 'Solemn Dirge' in Garrick's *Romeo and Juliet* Production of 1750", *SQ*, XI, 173-187.
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- 492a. Heilman, Robert B. "Bardolatry", *Yale Review*, L, 257-270.
- The right kind of bardolatry is self-justifying, for it "spurs understanding" of *Shak*.
493. Heller, Lora and Abraham. "Hamlet's Parents: The Dynamic Formulation of a Tragedy", *American Imago*, XVII, 413-421.
Hamlet is no example of arrested development. Rather, he "regressed" to the period of Oedipal conflict under the stress of three awful shocks" at the beginning of the play.
494. "Helligtrekongersaften". Tide of reviews of *Twel.* production at Aarhus Theatre, Denmark, by Jens Kruuse, *Jyllandsposten*, Jan. 7; Svend Kragh-Jacobsen, *Berlingske Tidende*, Jan. 7; Gustav Albeck, *Kristelig Dagblad*, Jan. 7; Carl Johan Elmquist, *Politiken*, Jan. 7.
495. Heninger, S. K., Jr. "French Scholarship on Elizabethan Drama: A Survey", *EA*, XIII, 283-292.
496. —. *A Handbook of Renaissance Meteorology*. Duke U. P. Pp. xii + 269.
Eliz. meteorological theory and its literary employment by *Shak*. and his contemporaries.
Rev.: Paul H. Kocher, *RN*, XIII, 248-249; *TLS*, Nov. 25, p. 756; Michael Macklem, *JEGP*, LIX, 730-731.
497. —. "The Sun-King Analogy in *Richard II*", *SQ*, XI, 319-327.
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498. Hennings, Elsa. *Shakespeares Mass für Mass*. Universitäts-Gesellschaft Hamburg, 1958.
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499. "Henry IV", *Critic*, Sep., p. 78.
500. "Henry V—in battle dress", *Theatre World*, Ap., pp. 45-47.
At the Mermaid Theatre.
501. Henry, Hélène. "Charles Dullin et le

- Théâtre Elisabethain", *EA*, XIII, 197-204.
- On Dullin's productions of Jonson and *Shak*.
502. Hering, Gerhard F. *Der Ruf zur Leidenschaft*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1959.
- Includes "Grabbe und Shakespeare", pp. 193-215.
503. Hernberger, Charles Frederick, Jr. "Tragic Perspective in Tudor Biography and Shakespeare", *DA*, XXI, 895 (Boston).
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504. Heuer, Hermann. "Shakespeare und die Deutschen. Gedanken zur 95-Jahr-Feier der Shakespeare-Gesellschaft", *Dr. Zig. u. Wirtschaftsztg v.*, XVIII.4 (1959), 25.
505. Heuser, Georg. *Die aktlose Dramaturgie William Shakespeares*. Marburg, 1956.
- Rev.: F. D. Hoeniger, *SQ*, XI, 224, and *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, XXIX (1959), 97; Robert Fricker, *Anglia*, LXVIII, 99-100.
506. Highet, Gilbert. *The Powers of Poetry*. Oxford U. P. Pp. 356.
- Includes "Shakespeare in Italy", pp. 46-52; "The Madness of Hamlet", pp. 286-292; "Shakespeare's Dreams and Dreamers", pp. 301-307; "Shakespeare in love [Sonn.]", pp. 39-46.
507. Hijikata, Tatsuzo. *XVI Seiki—Sheikuspia no Jidai (The 16th Century—the Age of Shak.)*. Tokyo U. P. Pp. 334.
- First vol. of *Outline of English Literary History*.
508. Hitchman, Percy J. "The Fairy Queen at Nottingham", *Theatre Notebook*, XIV, 92-99.
- Production of Purcell's opera of *Dream*. Detailed description.
509. Hoeniger, F. D. "How Significant are Textual Parallels? A New Author for *Pericles*?", *SQ*, XI, 27-37.
- Verbal parallels suggest that John Day collaborated in *Per.*, especially II.i, iii.
510. Hoffman, Banesh. "Sherlock, Shakespeare and the Bomb", *Baker Street Journal*, X, 69-79.
- Fiction, enlarged from *Scientific American*, Ap., 1951. *Sonn.* 12 refers to the theory of relativity; *Sonn.* 64 describes our post-atomic scientific and political situation.
511. Hofmann, Heinz. "Neuübertragung verlangt neue Spielweise. Shakespeare's *Macbeth* in d. Übersetzung v. Rudolf Schaller", *Theater d. Zeit*, XIV (1959), no. 11, pp. 24-26.
512. Holland, Norman N. "The 'Cinna' and 'Cynicke' Episodes in *Julius Caesar*", *SQ*, XI, 439-444.
- Each "seemingly irrelevant episode gives an important perspective on the main action", one condemning the assassination, the other underscoring "the theme of separation between Brutus the idealist and Cassius the realist that is their joint tragedy".
513. ———. "Freud on Shakespeare", *PMLA*, LXXV, 163-173.
- Seeks "to set out in systematic form Freud's comments on, references to, and quotations from Shakespeare, and second, to provide via the footnotes a bibliography for them".
514. ———. "Realism and the Psychological Critic; or, How Many Complexes Had Lady Macbeth?", *Literature and Psychology*, X, 5-8.
- Psychology should not be applied to characters in literature without consideration for the art forms in which they appear. Art is not life.
515. Holloway, John. *The Charted Mirror*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Pp. 226.
- With several essays bearing on *Shak*. criticism.
- Rev.: *TLS*, Jun. 10, p. 367; Barbara Everett, *Critical Quarterly*, II, 272.
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- Rev.: *TLS*, Jul. 8, p. 434; Henning

- Kehler, *Berlingske Tidende* (Copenhagen), Sep. 8; M. C. Petrie, *Illustrated London News*, Jun. 18, p. 1068.
517. Honda, Kensho. "Ben Jonson to Sheik-usupia ('Ben Jonson and Shak.')." *Journal of English Literature* (Hosei Univ., Tokyo), III, 1-2.
518. ———. *Sheikusupia Higeki no Honshitsu* (Essential Quality of Shak.'s Tragedies). Tokyo: Kinokuniya. Pp. 237.
Shak. in the light of Greek drama, Seneca, and Ren. dramatic theory.
519. Honshuku, Kazuko. "A Study of Othello through Imagery", *Essays and Studies in British and American Literature* (Tokyo Woman's Christian College), VII.2.
Deciphering the mutual relation of Othello and Iago should be the key to understanding the play.
520. Hook, Frank S. "Two Proposed Emendations in *All's Well*", *SQ*, XI, 387-388.
All's W. II.ii.5 should begin with an inserted "But" (first suggested by Theobald); in IV.v.17 "not grass" should replace "not hearbes".
521. Horn, G. "Our Friend Shakespeare", *School Activities*, XXXII, 15-17.
Notes on staging and acting in school productions.
522. Horn, Robert D. "Shakespeare in Oregon—1960", *SQ*, XI, 477-480.
Caesar, R. II, *Shrew*, *Temp.* (plus Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*) at Ashland, Oregon.
523. Hosley, Richard. "Was There a Music-Room in Shakespeare's Globe?", *SS* 13, pp. 113-123.
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524. Hotson, Leslie. "The Man Shakespeare", *The Living Shakespeare* (no. 455), pp. 25-31.
525. ———. *Shakespeare's Wooden O.* London, 1959.
Rev.: *TLS*, Feb. 19, p. 110; C. V. Wedgwood, *Time and Tide*, XLI, 144-145; William Empson, *New Statesman and Nation*, LIX, 225-226; Wallace A. Bacon, *Yale Review*, L, 107-110; George Walton Williams, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LIX, 583; C. Walter Hodges, *Drama*, LVI, 36-40; Hermann Heuer, *SJ*, XCVI, 238-240; Albert B. Weiner, *Educational Theatre Journal*, XII, 237-238; Louis Marder, *SNL*, X, 44-45.
526. Hoy, Cyrus. "Comedy, Tragedy, and Tragicomedy", *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXXVI, 105-118.
In pursuing an ideal, man's persistence may appear noble, stubborn, foolish, or a combination. "The more forcibly and apparently these diverse qualities are linked in combination, the more surely sounds the note of tragicomedy" rather than of tragedy or comedy. Thus Angelo is tragicomic, Malvolio comic.
527. Hubbell, Lindley Williams. *Lectures on Shakespeare*. Tokyo, 1959.
Rev.: Hermann Heuer, *SJ*, XCVI, 253-254.
528. ———. "Shakespeare and Classic Drama", *Jimbun-kagaku* (Studies in Humanities, Doshisha Univ., Kyoto), XLVIII, 1-87.
529. Hughes, R. E. "Conveyors Are You All", *Education*, LXXX, 279-282.
Discusses staging and acting of *Shak.* in schools.
530. Hunt, David. "The Merchant of Venice", *Plays and Players*, Jun., p. 31.
Richmond Theatre production.
531. Hyde, Isabel. "Macbeth: A Problem", *English*, XIII, 91-94.
Kenneth Muir's Arden ed. is misleading. Macbeth's "powerful sensuous imagery" derives from *Shak.*'s conception of Macbeth's tragic character, not from any "mere convention of poetic drama".
532. ———. "A Note on *King Lear* and *Timon of Athens*", *N&Q*, n.s., VII, 19-20.
Lear II.iv.227-232 echoes *Timon*, which in turn echoes Lucian.
533. Hyman, Lawrence W. "Macbeth: The Hand and the Eye", *Tennessee Studies in Literature*, V, 97-100.

- His head and heart in conflict with his hand, "what allows Macbeth to function so effectively as a murderer makes him fall apart as a man".
534. Igoe, W. J. "Hamlet: The Conscience of the Prince", *Critic*, Jul., 12-15+.
535. Imam, Syed Mehdi. "Studies of Shakespeare's Plays: I. *The Tempest*", *Mother India*, Mar., 1959, pp. 61-63; Apr., 1959, pp. 57-61.
An "occult" interpretation of *Temp.* as the "point of equilibrium" in *Shak.*, with Prospero, the "White Magician", its central figure.
536. ———. "Studies of Shakespeare's Plays: II. *Antony and Cleopatra*", *Mother India*, May, 1959, pp. 51-55; June, 1959, pp. 55-61.
The principles of *Shak.* tragedy are Play (*Lila*), Disillusionment (*Māya*), and Release (*Mukti*). *Antony* moves from the Play of Love, with attraction of opposites, to the purgative Disillusionment and Discovery of Love, to the Transcendence of Love (*katharsis*), when the lovers rise out of the mists as Spirit.
537. ———. "Studies of Shakespeare's Plays: III. *Romeo and Juliet*", *Mother India*, Jul., 1959, pp. 58-63; Aug., 1959, pp. 68-73.
Romeo as a transition from Sonnets and Comedies to Tragedies, a precarious experiment not repeated by *Shak.*, but saved from failure by its passion and poetry.
538. ———. "Studies of Shakespeare's Plays: IV. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*", *Mother India*, Sep., 1959, pp. 72-75; Oct., 1959, pp. 58-64.
Dream as "the gateway to the Comedies". The five principles of Comic Drama, exemplified in the fusion of *Dream*, are comic situation, complications, reversals, crisis, harmonization, and discovery.
539. ———. "Studies of Shakespeare's Plays: V. *The Merchant of Venice*", *Mother India*, Jan., pp. 64-68; Feb., pp. 115-119.
A fusion of comedy and tragedy, with dualism at every stage until the dual tension, climax, and discovery harmonize at the close.
540. ———. "Studies of Shakespeare's Plays: VI. *As You Like It*", *Mother India*, Mar., pp. 66-69; May, pp. 62-64.
A.Y.L. brings together varied forms of the idealization of Love. Rival worlds—the Court and Arden—compete for precedence, and Rosalind's is the unifying and controlling hand.
541. Ives, E. W. "Tom Skelton—A Seventeenth-Century Jester", *SS* 13, pp. 90-105.
Of *Shak.* interest mainly in showing that motley "had no regular form, variations could be made to please each individual. Checked, striped, speckled, pied, patched or parti-coloured coats were all admissible".
542. Iyengar, K. R. Srinivasa. "Crime and Punishment in Shakespeare", *Journal of the Annamalai Univ.*, XXII.2, 1-66.
Lectures delivered at the Annamalai Univ., March, 1955. A general inquiry into all *Shak.*'s plays except the tragedies of the Jacobean period.
543. Jacquot, Jean. "Théâtre et Poésie: Gaston Baty et les Elisabethains", *EA*, XIII, 205-215.
544. ———. "Vers un théâtre du peuple. Shakespeare en France après Copeau et le Cartel des Quatre", *EA*, XIII, 216-247.
545. ———. and André Veinstein (edd.). *La Mise en Scène des Oeuvres du Passé. Entretiens d'Arras, 15-18 juin 1956*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1957.
Includes: Jean Jacquot, "Les Études Shakespeariennes, Problèmes et Méthodes: l'exemple de 'Macbeth'", pp. 176-209; Gabriel Monnet, "Sur une Mise en Scène de 'Hamlet'", pp. 233-239.
546. Jaggard, Gerald. *Stratford Mosaic: the Shakespeare Club and a Medley of Memories*. London: Christopher Johnson. Pp. viii + 176.
547. James, D. G. "Keats and *King Lear*", *SS* 13, pp. 58-68.
The impact of *Lear* upon Keats can scarcely be exaggerated. *Shak.* and Keats "reached the limits of the

- imagination's power in their beholdment of sorrow as heightening beauty and of serenity as containing suffering". Both recognized that the end of poetry is to excite "speculations", not give answers.
548. Janzon, Åke. "Teater i Stockholm", *Bonniers Litterära Magasin*, XXIX, 428-430.
On *Hamlet*.
549. Jasinska, S. "The Translation of *Macbeth* by Juliusz Slowacki", *Pamiętnik* (Polish Academy of Sciences), no. 5 (1955), pp. 154 ff.
550. Jenkins, Harold. "Playhouse Interpolations in the Folio Text of *Hamlet*", *SB*, XIII, 31-47.
Far more than editors have recognized, "many of the little words and phrases which F has in excess of Q are in fact actors' additions" and should be deleted accordingly.
551. Jessup, Bertram. *Philosophy in Shakespeare*. Univ. of Oregon Books, 1959. Pp. 24. Paper.
An Oregon Centennial lecture delivered at the Univ., Ap., 1959.
552. Jewkes, Wilfred T. *Act Division in Elizabethan and Jacobean Plays, 1583-1616*. Hamden, Conn., 1958.
Rev.: John W. Shroeder, *SQ*, XI, 219-220; E. A. J. Honigmann, *RES*, n.s., XI, 322-323.
553. Johns, Eric. "Glen Byam Shaw's New Year", *Theatre World*, Jan., pp. 39, 48-49.
Résumé of his career as a *Shak.* director.
554. Johnson, Samuel. *Johnson's Notes to Shakespeare*, ed. Arthur Sherbo. 3 vols. Los Angeles, 1956-1958.
Rev.: Jacob H. Adler, *SQ*, XI, 380.
555. ———. *Samuel Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. with intr. by W. K. Wimsatt, Jr. New York: Hill and Wang. Pp. xxxv + 115.
556. Jolliffe, M. and H. Tennant, "Memoirs of a Stratford Press-Agent", *Maclean's Magazine*, Sep. 10, pp. 28-29, 43-45.
557. Jones, Eldred D. "The Machiavel and the Moor", *EC*, X, 234-238 (Critical Forum).
- Opposing Laurence Lerner's article in *EC*, IX (1959 Bibl., no. 580). Lerner's "converted Moor who relapses into barbarism" is a distortion and debasement. *Oth.* is no "racist" play.
558. Jones, H. W. "All's Well", IV, ii, 38 Again", *MLR*, LV, 241-242.
The compositor may have misread his copy's "I see y' men may cōpas 's in such a snare/y' wee'l forsake our selves".
559. Jones, M. H. "Shakespeare for Superior High School Sophomores", *School and Community*, XLVI, 16-17.
560. Jones, William M. "Shakespeare's Source for the Name 'Laertes'", *SNL*, X, 9.
The father-son motif in *Ham.* apparently caused *Shak.* to use the name of Ulysses' father for Polonius' son.
561. ———. "William Shakespeare as William in *As You Like It*", *SQ*, XI, 228-231.
William's role is more meaningful and more comic if we imagine it played by *Shak.*
562. Jones-Davies, M. T. "Ninth International Shakespeare Conference, Stratford-on-Avon, 1959", *EA*, XIII, 306-309.
563. Jorgensen, Paul A. "The Intent of Drama", *Western Speech*, XXIV, 133-138.
As *Shak.*, for one, frequently illustrates, "what an author conceives his intention to be has very little to do with the quality of the finished work".
564. ———. "Redeeming Time' in Shakespeare's *Henry IV*", *Tennessee Studies in Literature*, V, 101-109.
A reexamination of the meaning and implications of Hal's promise concluding 1 *H. IV*, I.ii. An Elizabethan audience "would have accepted gratefully, with a relaxation of tension that must have been the primary appeal of the play, the realization that time could be redeemed socially, actively, and interestingly".
565. Joseph, Bertram. *Acting Shakespeare*.

- London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Pp. 199.
Rev.: TLS, Aug. 19, p. 522; Marjorie Thompson, *Drama*, Autumn, pp. 47-49.
566. Josephson, Lennart. *En orientering om Hamlet*. Stockholm: Forum. Pp. 111.
Rev.: Clas Bruniu, *Expressen* (Stockholm), Mar. 25; Nils Ivar Ivarsson, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* (Malmö), Mar. 25; Martin Strömberg, *Stockholmstidningen*, Mar. 25; Carl Olaf Bergström, *Nerikes Allehanda* (Örebro), Jun. 29; Ebbe Linde, *Dagens Nyheter* (Stockholm), May 29 (with further discussion by Lennart Josephson, Jun. 7; Ebbe Linde, Jun. 17; Alf Önnersfors, Jun. 23); Åke Perlström, *Göteborgsposten*, Jun. 10.
567. Kaieda, Susumu. "Sheikusupia Geki chu no Shomin Kaikyū ('The Common People in *Shak*'s Plays)", *Essays in Humanities and Social Sciences* (Tokyo Univ. of Foreign Affairs), Oct., 1959, pp. 171-184.
568. Kamijima, Kenkichi. "Purometeus no Koei—Shinwa Ruikai toshite mita Hamuretto ('Descendant of Prometheus—Hamlet as myth type')", *Essays and Studies in memoriam Professor Doi* (Tokyo: Musashi U. P.), pp. 33-65.
Hamlet develops from meditative to practical, from prudent and deliberate to brilliant and active, and challenges destiny.
569. Kan, Albert E. "Remarks on Desdemona", *Teatr* (Moscow), XXI, 139-144.
570. Kantorovich, I. B. "Bernard Shaw's Reflections on Shakespeare: A Study of the Aesthetics of Bernard Shaw", *Gosudardsvennyi Pedagogicheski Institut Uchenye Zapiski* (State Pedagogical Institut Studies, Sverdlovsk, Russia), No. 15 (1957), pp. 173-197.
571. Kantorowicz, Ernest H. *The King's Two Bodies*. Princeton U. P., 1957.
Includes "Shakespeare: *King Richard II*", pp. 29-41.
Rev.: H. S. Offler, *English Historical Review*, LXXV, 295-298; F. M. Powicke, *Medium Aevum*, XXVIII (1959), 50-53.
572. Kashiwagura, Shunzo. "Sheikusupia Geki ni okeru *Juriasu Siza* no Ichi ni tsuite ('On the position of *Caesar* in *Shak*'s plays')", *Bull. of the Faculty of Literature, Hokkaido Univ.*, Jul., 1959.
573. Kask, Karin. *Shakespeare Eesti Teatrilaval*. Eesti NSV Teatriühingu Väljaanne, 1958. Pp. 94.
On *Shak*, in Estonia. Illus.
Rev.: Hermann Heuer, *SJ*, XCVI, 244.
574. Katayama, Atsushi. "*Toroirasu* no Igi ('What *Troi* Implies')", *Essays and Studies in Honour of Professor Kashiwagura* (Sapporo: Hokkaido U. P., 1959), pp. 11-23.
Surveys interpretations of *Troi*.
575. Kaufmann, Walter. *The Owl and the Nightingale*. London: Faber and Faber. Pp. 404.
Shak, along with Goethe and Rilke, are the nightingales.
Rev.: TLS, Oct. 7, p. 648; M. R. Rees, *Listener*, Aug. 11, p. 230.
576. Kawatake, Toshio. "Shakespeare in the Japanese Theatre", *Theatre Research*, II, 82-87.
577. Kemp, William. "Shakespeare by Garrick", *Plays and Players*, Jul., p. 17.
Pitlochry Festival production of *Katherine and Petruchio*, Garrick's adaptation of *Shrew*.
578. Kennedy-Skipton, A. L. D. "John Ward and Restoration Drama", *SQ*, XI, 493-494.
Includes a brief sketch of this "writer of the only account of Shakespeare's death" (see *SQ*, VIII, for reproductions from his note-books).
579. Kernan, Alvin. *The Cankered Muse*: Satire of the English Renaissance. Yale U. P., 1959. Pp. xii + 262.
Places such plays as *Timon* and *Troi* within the satiric tradition.
580. Kery, Laszlo. *Shakespeare Tragediæ* (Irodalomtörténeti kiskönyvtár, I). Budapest: Gondolat, 1959. Pp. 119.
581. Kiley, Frederick S. "Fate's Midnight: A Teaching Guide for *Macbeth*", *English Journal*, XLIX, 589-592.
Shak, in the secondary schools.

582. ——. "Teaching Guide for *The Tempest*", *English Journal*, XLIX, 341-350.
583. "King Henry V at the Old Vic", *Theatre World*, Jul., pp. 42-43. Photographs.
584. King, Walter N. "Shakespeare's 'Mingled Yarn'", *MLQ*, XXI, 33-44. The complexity, or "mingled yarn", of human behaviour is the key to *All's W.* "Characterization, not moral uplift, is the heart of the play".
585. Kinoshita, Junji. "Sheikusupia no Hon-yaku ('Translating *Shak.*')", *Rising Generation*, CVI.4, 170-171.
- 585a. Kirk, Rudolf and C. F. Main (edd.). *Essays in Literary History presented to J. Milton French*. Rutgers U. P. Pp. [viii] + 270. See nos. 343a, 655a, 706a.
586. Kirschbaum, Leo. "Albany", *SS* 13, pp. 20-29. Those who describe *Lear* as "totally dark" should not forget the progress of Albany from nonentity to political, moral, and spiritual greatness.
587. Kishi, Hidero. "Sheikusupia no Sonetto ('*Shak.*'s *Sonn.*')", *Metropolita* (Tokyo Metropolitan Univ.), Aug., 39-51. On the position of the first 17 *Sonn.* in Eliz. literature.
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The "cinematographic" quality of *Shak.*'s plays as shown in many recent films.
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613. Law, Robert Adger. "*King John* and *King Leir*", *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, I, 473-476.
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614. —. "*Richard III*, IV.iv.201", *SQ*, XI, 87-88.
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Includes Belleforest, samples of the three basic texts, and selections from critics of the past two centuries.
619. Leavis, Ralph. "Shylock's 'Woollen Bagpipe'", *TLS*, Feb. 12, p. 97.
Cletus Oakley's suggestion (no. 705) is unsound historically and aesthetically.
620. Le Comte, Edward S. "Ophelia's 'Bonny Sweet Robin'", *PMLA*, LXXV, 480.
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Selections from twelve *Ham.* critics, John Dryden to M. M. Mahood, with an intr. by the editor.
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633. Long, John H. *Shakespeare's Use of Music*. Florida U. P., 1955.
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635. Maas, Paul. *Textual Criticism*, tr. Barbara Flowers. Oxford U. P., 1958.
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640. Marder, Louis. "Memorial Theatre Turns Deficit To Profit in Outstanding 100th Season", *SNL*, X, 43.
641. ———. "Merchant of Vengeance", *SNL*, X, 32.
A plea that touring companies "present Shakespeare, not 'produce' him" with debasing buffoonery.
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653. McAleer, John J. "Edwin Booth—The Greatest Hamlet", *SNL*, X, 47.

654. —. "Frederick James Furnivall, Sham Shakespearean?", *SNL*, X, 37.
655. McBean, Angus, et al. Photographs of Productions of Shakespeare, *Plays and Players*.
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666. Mills, L. J. "Cleopatra's Tragedy", *SO*, XI, 147-162.
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668. Mirzoeva, Sh. "Tragedy of the Danish Prince", *Akademii Nauk Azerbaidzhanskoi SSR Baku. Izvestiia Seriia Obshchestvennykh* (Azerbaijan), No. 1, pp. 169-171.
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683. —. *Shakespeare as Collaborator*. London: Methuen. Pp. xi + 164.
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684. —. "Source Problems in the Histories", *SJ*, XCVI, 47-63.
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685. —. "Three Shakespeare Adaptations", *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, VIII (1959), 233-240.
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686. Müller, André. "Auch ein neuer Weg zu Shakespeare. Die edlen Herren aus Verona, neuübertr. v. Elisabeth Hauptmann und Benno Besson", *Theater der Zeit*, XIV.11 (1959), 26-28.
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688. Nagarajan, S. "The Structure of 'All's Well that Ends Well'", *EC* X, 24-31.
Love, not nobility, is the centre of *All's W.* Immature Bertram eventually is brought to maturity.
689. Nagler, A. M. "'Atorno Atorno'", *TLS*, May 6, p. 289.
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690. ——. *Shakespeare's Stage*, tr. Ralph Manheim. Yale U. P., 1958.
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692. Nakahashi, Kazuo. *Doke no Shukumei (Destiny of the Fool)*. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1959. Pp. 248.
The tradition of the fool in *Shak.*, as reflected in Falstaff, Iago, *Ham.*, and the comedies and tragedies generally.
693. Nakajima, Genji. "Sheikusupia no Sonetto in okeru Metafa no Meian ('Light and Shade of Metaphors in Sonn.')" *Bungei to Shiso* (Women's College, Fukuoka), XIX.
694. Nakano, Yoshio. "Sheikusupia Hon-yaku no Omoide ('Reminiscence of Translating Shak.')" *Rising Generation*, CVI.8, 394-396.
695. — and Jiro Ozu (edd.). *Sogo Kenkyu Sheikusupia (Synthetic Studies in Shak.)*. Tokyo: Eihosha. Pp. 436.
Japanese scholars (Yoshiaki Fuhara, Tsuneari Fukuda, Junji Kinoshita, Kikuo Miyabe, Kazuo Nakahashi, Yoshio Nakano, Jiro Ozu, Toshikazu Oyama, Yasuo Suga, and Ken-ichi Yoshida) provide separate chapters on the following *Shak.* topics: the age, biography, histories, comedies, tragedies, criticism past and present, textual problems, Eliz. and Kabuki theatre, staging problems, *Shak.*'s English, bibliography, and chronology.
696. Nathan, Norman. "Caius Ligarius and *Julius Caesar*", *N&Q*, n.s., VII, 16-17.
By altering Plutarch, *Shak.* makes the conspirators more concerned with "imposing their own wills" than with justice.
697. "The Necessity of Rejecting a Shakespeare Sonnet", *The Fifties*, Third Issue (1959), pp. 20-21.
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A survey of the implications of title-page nomenclature. While *Polonius'* catalogue is partly a joke, *Shak.* was apparently responsible for establishing 'history' as a generic term, and his *Ham.* seems to have been the first to be labeled 'tragical historical'.
699. ——. "What Do We Do with Shakespeare?", *SJ*, XCVI, 35-46.
The study and the stage should approach *Shak.* in harmony, each sensitive to the valid demands of the other.
700. Nietsch, Erich. "Das Menschenbild bei William Shakespeare", *Psycholog. Hefte d. Siemens-Studienges. f. prakt. Psychologie* (Hannover), no. 12 (1957), pp. 351-354.
701. Nishijima, Tadashi. "Sheikusupia to Hangyaku ('Shak. and Rebellion')", *Thought Currents in English Literature* (Aoyama Gakuin Univ., Tokyo), XXXII.1.
702. Nishiwaki, Junzaburo. "Sheikusupia no Kansho ni tsuite ('On the Appreciation of Shak.')" *Keio Gijyuku*

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- Reflections on a life-long problem of appreciating *Shak.* in terms of modern criticism.
703. Nowotny, Winifred M. T. "Some Aspects of the Style of *King Lear*", *SS* 13, pp. 49-57.
- Examines the evocative power of Lear's simplest language, used necessarily "not as the adequate register of his experience, but as evidence that his experience is beyond language's scope".
704. Nuzum, David G. "The London Company and *The Tempest*", *West Virginia Univ. Philological Papers*, XII (1959), 12-23.
- Temp.* is by no means merely a propaganda play, but apparently *Shak.* wrote it "as a part of a concerted scheme of propaganda" supporting "the Virginia Company in general and . . . the Bermuda project in particular".
705. Oakley, Cletus. "Shylock's 'Woollen Bagpipe'", *TLS*, Jan. 29, p. 65.
- In *Merch.* IV.i.56, "woollen" may simply be the English spelling for the sound of the Gaelic "uileann", a "piob uileann" being an "elbow bagpipe". But see nos. 619, 828.
706. O'Connor, Frank [i.e., Michael O'Donovan]. *Shakespeare's Progress*. Cleveland: World. Pp. 191.
- Essentially a reprint of *The Road to Stratford* (London, 1948).
- 706a. O'Connor, John J. "Three Additional *Much Ado* Sources", *Essays in Literary History* (no. 585a), pp. 81-91.
707. Odashima, Yushi. "*Hamuretto* no Amadera no Ba ('What Happens in the Nunnery Scene of *Ham.*')", *Rising Generation*, CVI.2, 62-63.
- Criticises Dover Wilson's view.
708. Odle, Zelma Ruth. "The Function of Imagery in the Characterization of Hamlet", *DA*, XXI, 616 (Arkansas).
- Shows how Hamlet's imagery reveals his character, and how his unique way of speaking is related to action and theme.
709. Ogawa, Jiro. "Genjitsu to Kihan—*Osero* ni okeru Ai ni tsuite ('Morality versus Reality—Love in *Oth.*')", *Hiroshima Studies in English Language and Literature*, V (1958), 23-39.
710. Ogburn, Charlton. "A Mystery Solved: The True Identity of Shakespeare", *American Bar Assn. Journal*, XLV (1959), 237-241.
- Shak.* was Oxford, obviously.
711. ———, Dorothy and Charlton. "Shakespeare or Shaksper", *American Scholar*, XXIX, 271, 290-296.
- Contrary to the arguments of W. T. Hastings (1959 *Bibl.*, no. 466) Oxford was *Shak.*; in reply, Hastings reaffirms his Stratfordian position.
712. ———. "The True Shakespeare: England's Great and Complete Man", *American Bar Association Journal*, XLV (1959), 941-943, 990-996.
- Further "proof" that Oxford was *Shak.* See no. 273.
713. Ohlmarks, Åke. "Shakespeares skolmästarekomplex", *Aftonbladet* (Stockholm), Ap. 10.
- Schools and teachers in *Shak.*
714. Okubo, Jun-ichiro. "Sheikusupia no Jikan ('Time in *Shak.*')", *Studies and Essays by the Faculty, Kanazawa Univ.*, no. 7.
715. Oppel, Horst. *Titus Andronicus*: Studien zur dramengeschichtlichen Stellung von Shakespeares früher Tragödie. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer. Pp. 130.
716. Ornstein, Robert. *The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy*. Wisconsin U. P. Pp. viii + 299.
- Final chapter (pp. 222-276) is on *Shak.*
717. Otsuka, Takanobu. "Sheikusupia to Shokubutsu ('*Shak.* and Plants')", *Rising Generation*, CVI.4, 190-191.
- Plants tell the season in some plays, not in others.
- 717a. Over, Geoffrey Alan. "Shakespearean Studies", *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XX, 453-455. London, New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1959.
- Supplements main entry on *Shak.* (no. 342a above).

718. Owen, I. "Stratford", *Tamarack Review*, XIII, 101-103.
Stratford, Ontario *Shak.* Festival.
719. Oyama, Toshikazu. "Anything Might Happen in Hamlet", *Studies in English Literature* (English Literary Society of Japan, Tokyo), Mar. (English Number), pp. 37-48.
720. ———. "Hamuretto no Eigo no Aimai-sei ('Ambiguity of Hamlet's English')", *Seijo Bungei* (Seijo Univ., Tokyo), XX (Jan.).
721. ———. *Saikin no Sheikusupia Kenkyu-ho* (*Approach to Recent Shak. Studies*). Tokyo: Shinzaki Shorin. Pp. 270.
722. ———. "Shakespeare in Japan", *SNL*, X, 33.
723. ———. "Sheikusupia Kenkyu no Genjo ('Present State of Shak. Studies in the World')", *Rising Generation*, CVI.4, 176-177.
724. ———. *Sheikusupia Ningen-kan Kenkyu* (*A Study of Shak.'s View of Man*). 4th ed. Tokyo. Shinzaki Shorin. Pp. 364.
Rev.: Isamu Muraoka, *Studies in English Literature*, XXXV, 1, 142-143.
725. Ozu, Jiro. "Approaches to Shakespeare", *Rising Generation*, CVI.4, 178.
In Japanese, recommending the Arden *Shak.* and Onion's glossary.
726. Pafford, J. H. P. "Rampallian (Henry the Fourth, Part II, II.i.65)", *N&Q*, n.s., VII, 93.
A "rampallian" may be one like those living in disreputable Ram Alley.
727. Paolucci, Anne. "The Tragic Hero in *Julius Caesar*", *SQ*, XI, 329-333.
Caesar is a "tragic hero" only in that Brutus mistakenly gave him such dimensions. When Brutus realizes that he, not Caesar, sinned against the Gods, he accepts death as punishment.
728. "Paperback Publications—I: Avon Swans among the Penguins", *TLS*, Ap. 8, p. 227.
A survey, with accompanying bibliography, of the major *Shak.* paperback series: Penguin, Pelican, Crofts, Folger, and Laurel.
Laurel's managing editor, Richard B. Fisher, seeks a more appreciative estimate of his series in "Pocket Shakespeare", May 6, p. 289; *TLS*'s reviewer remains unconverted.
729. Pares, Martin. "Francis Bacon and the Knights of the Helmet", *American Bar Assn. Journal*, XLVI, 402-409.
Ogburn's Oxfordian arguments (see nos. 710, 712) are "equally applicable to Francis Bacon", whose claims to being "*Shak.*" are far stronger.
730. Paris, Jean. *Shakespeare*, tr. Richard Seaver from the French (Evergreen Profile). New York: Grove. Pp. 191.
Trans. of *Shakespeare par lui-même* (Paris, 1954).
731. Parish, Verna N. "Shakespeare's Sonnets and *The French Academie*", *SNL*, X, 25.
Primaudaye's commonplaces help show the danger of taking *Sonn.* as autobiographical; the two works share traditional themes.
732. Parry-Jones, D. "Ritual at a Welsh Healing Well", *Gwerin*, III, 56-57.
A description of a Welsh ritual, observed about 1785-1793, mentions near the river Clydach a dingle "called *Cum-Puca*, or the Hobgoblin's Dingle". *Shak.*'s Puck has been joined to the Welsh equivalent. Legend connects *Shak.* with the area.
733. Partridge, A. C. "Shakespeare and Religion", *English Studies in Africa*, III, 1-7.
Contrary to the view expressed by E. Davis (1959 *Bibl.*, no. 342), *Shak.*'s work reflects "a profound sympathy with the religious attitude of mind".
734. Partridge, Eric. *Shakespeare's Bawdy*: a literary & psychological essay and a comprehensive glossary (Dutton Everyman paperback). New York: Dutton. Pp. 226.
Reprint.
735. Pearce, T. M. "'Another Knot, Five-Finger-Tied': Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, V.ii.157", *N&Q*, n.s., VII, 18-19.

- Perhaps suggested by the Parson's homily in Chaucer, the "knot" is principally that tied by the senses, sensuality.
736. Pearson, Norman Holmes. "Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*", *Literary Criterion* (Mysore), III.4 (1959), 53-73.
On *Antony* as a "play on words, as well as a play made for them", with "ironic and ultimately triumphant interinvolvement of words with action". *Antony and Cleopatra* fuse the values of Egypt and Rome. As if a "rewriting" of *Romeo*, the play reexamines "the problem of disharmony and its resolution, pondering the role of love".
737. Perdecì. "150. *Hamlet*", *Türk Tiya-trosu* (Istanbul), Mar., pp. 3-4.
Lead article of an issue concerning extensive productions of *Ham.* in Turkey and throughout the world. Illustrated.
738. Perkin, Robert L. "Shakespeare in the Rockies: III", *SQ*, XI, 461-465.
I H. IV, *Antony*, and *Twel.* at the Colorado *Shak.* Festival.
739. Peterby, Ture. "Vem skrev egentligen Shakespeare?", *Arbetsutidningen* (Göteborg), Aug. 13.
740. Peterson, Bertil. "Skolteatern i Umeå", *Tidning för Sveriges läroverk* (Stockholm), LX.17, 544.
Chiefly about *Shak.* in Umeå.
741. Piens, Gerhard. "Zweimal Shakespeare für junge Zuschauer. *Romeo und Julia*, nach den Urtexten übertr. v. Rudolf Schaller, in Dresden und Halle", *Theater der Zeit*, XIV.7 (1959), 47-50.
742. Poethen, Wilhelm. "Hamlet im Deutschunterricht", *Wirkendes Wort*, IX (1959), 99-109.
743. ———. "Shakespeare im Deutschunterricht", *Wirkendes Wort*, IX (1959), 43-56.
744. Poggioli, Renato. "The Pastoral of the Self", *Daedalus*, LXXXVIII (1959), 686-699.
In part concerned with the contrasting "versions of the pastoral ideal" concluding *A.Y.L.*
745. Poisson, Rodney. "Ambivalence in Shakespeare's Histories: A Reconsideration of the Second Tetralogy", *DA*, XX (1959), 304 (Washington).
746. Pons, Christian. "Les Traductions de *Hamlet* par des écrivains français" *EA*, XIII, 116-131.
"Aucune pièce anglaise n'a été plus souvent traduite en français, avec moins de bonheur". Since "rien n'illustre mieux qu'un *Hamlet* français tout ce qui sépare les deux langues", a study can produce "précieuses leçons" for *Shak.* translation generally. Pp. 130-131 give a bibliography of 25 French versions of *Ham.*
747. Potts, Abbie Findlay. *Shakespeare and The Faerie Queene*. Cornell U. P., 1958.
Rev.: F. D. Hoeniger, *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, XXIX (1959), 97-98; Lawrence Babb, *SQ*, XI, 81-82; Clifford Lyons, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LVIII (1959), 505-506.
748. Prager, Leonard. "The Clown in *Othello*", *SQ*, XI, 94-96.
In III.i and III.iv, the clown reinforces *Shak.*'s concern with inharmony and with tragic quibbles on "lie" and on hearing an "honest friend".
749. Presson, Robert K. "The Conclusion of *Love's Labour's Lost*", *N&Q*, n.s., VII, 17-18.
L.L.L.'s conclusion may be indebted to that of Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls*.
750. Priestley, J. B. *Literature and Western Man*. New York: Harper. Pp. 512.
Includes "England and Shakespeare", pp. 26-41.
751. Procházka, Miro. "Divadlo v Stratforde", *Kultúrný život* (Bratislava), Sep. 3, pp. 8-9.
Slovak critic's remarks on *Troi.*, *Shrew*, *Merch.*, and *T.G.V.* at Stratford-upon-Avon.
752. Prouty, Charles T. "Some Observations on Shakespeare's Sources", *SJ*, XCVI, 64-77.
The approach to *Shak.*'s sources has been too confined to superficial aspects of plot, character, or phrase-

- ology. We should "extend our range of inquiry".
753. Pruvost, René. "The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Twelfth Night, et *Gl'Innannati*", *EA*, XIII, 1-9.
For T.G.V. and *Twel.* Montemayor and Rich are respectively the prime sources. "Les histoires de Julia et de Viola n'ont dans leur trame générale rien que l'on puisse attribuer à une connaissance directe que Shakespeare pouvait avoir de la comédie des *Innannati* dans son texte original ou dans l'une de ses autres versions dramatiques ou narratives. Il y a pourtant dans ses deux pièces quelques traces certaines de son influence".
754. —. "Traductions récentes de Shakespeare", *EA*, XIII, 132-140.
755. Quaderer, Richard. *Die Entwicklung des englischen Königsdramas 1600-1642*. Winterthur: Keller, 1959. Pp. vi. + 212.
756. Rao, V. Srinivasa. "Shakespeare and the Indian Graduate", *Literary Half-Yearly* (Bangalore), LI, 69-70.
A plea for a comparative study of the experiences of *Shak.* students throughout India and wherever English is not the mother tongue.
757. Rappoport, R. "The Theme of Personal Integrity in *Othello*", *Theoria* (Natal), no. 14, pp. 1-12.
The nihilism of *Othello's* jealousy and possessiveness is the central theme of the tragedy.
758. Read, Conyers. *The Government of England under Elizabeth* (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization). Washington, D. C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library. Pp. 46, 17 plates.
Rev.: T. R. Henn, *MLR*, LV, 624; Waveney R. N. Payne, *SQ*, XI, 485.
759. Reed, Robert R., Jr. "The Probable Origin of Ariel", *SQ*, XI, 61-65.
Some of Ariel's acts of magic are traceable to Shrimp in Munday's *John a Kent*.
760. Rees, Joan. "Shakespeare's Use of Daniel", *MLR*, LV, 79-82.
Daniel's *Civil Wars* influenced Caesar; his "Letter from Octavia" suggested the opening scene of *Antony*.
761. Reeves, James. "The Shakespearean Scene", *Use of English*, XI, 230-232.
Criticism of modern *Shak.* production.
762. Rein, David M. "Hamlet's Self-Knowledge", *CEA Critic*, XXII.3, 8-9.
Shak. portrayed a Hamlet who did not know his own reasons for delay. Neither can we.
- 762a. Reuter, Ole. "Shakespeare: myt eller verklighet?" *Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Yearbook* (Helsinki), XXXVIII B, no. 8. Pp. 20.
Survey of Antistratfordians, based on no. 348 above.
763. Riabov, R. "The Favorite Writers of Marx", *Slovensky Pohľad* (Bratislava), LXXV (1959), 1059 ff.
764. Ribner, Irving. *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare*. Princeton U. P., 1957.
Rev.: A. J. Schmidt, *Journal of Modern History*, XXX (1958), 50-51; Horst Oppel, *Die Neueren Sprachen*, VIII (1959), 293-294; Hermann Heuer, *SJ*, XCVI, 245-246.
765. —. *Patterns in Shakespearean Tragedy*. London: Methuen. Pp. xii + 205.
Rev.: L. C. Knights, *Listener*, Nov. 10, p. 859; *TLS*, Dec. 2, p. 784; D. J. Palmer, *Critical Quarterly*, II, 381.
766. Rich, Barnaby. *Rich's Farewell to Military Profession*, ed. Thomas M. Cranfill. Texas U. P., 1959.
Rev.: D. T. Starnes, *Library Chronicle of the Univ. of Texas*, VI, 3-6.
767. *Richard II notes*, including scene by scene synopsis—character sketches, selected examination questions and answers (Cliff's notes and outlines). Lincoln, Nebraska: Cliff's. Pp. 74.
768. Richmond, Evelyn B. "Historical Costuming: A Footnote", *SQ*, XI, 233-234.
The famous historically costumed *John* at Covent Garden opened on Nov. 24, 1823, as the Folger copy of the playbill (reproduced) shows.
769. Richmond, H. M. "Take, Oh Take Those Lips Away", *Boston Univ.*

Studies in English, IV, 214-222.

Without explicitly discussing *Shak's Meas.* lyric, places it thematically and syntactically in a Ren. tradition of which it is the "finest expression".

770. Ricks, Christopher. "The Machiavel and the Moor", *EC*, X, 117.

In response to Laurence Lerner's article (1959 *Bibl.*, no. 580). As V.ii.219 makes clear, Othello did not actually believe in the handkerchief as magical.

771. Ridley, M. R. "Plot and Character in the Plays", *The Living Shakespeare* (no. 455), pp. 69-75.

772. Ringler, William. "Exit Kent", *SQ*, XI, 312-317.

"Exit Kent" should be inserted in *Lear* II.iv.135 and the stage direction at line 289 should be amended to "Exeunt Lear, Gloster, Gentleman, and Foole". Textual evidence and dramatic logic support these changes.

773. Roberts, Peter. "The Fortunes of Falstaff", *Plays and Players*, Jan., p. 9. Comparison of Falstaff in *Wives* and *H. IV*.

774. ———. "Henry V", *Plays and Players*, May, p. 15.

Mermaid Theatre production.

775. ———. "Henry V", *Plays and Players*, Jul., p. 11.

Old Vic production.

776. ———. "Richard II", *Plays and Players*, Jun., p. 15.

Old Vic production.

777. ———. "Richard II", *Plays and Players*, Jan., p. 13.

Old Vic production.

778. ———. "The Winter's Tale", *Plays and Players*, Oct., pp. 15-16.

Stratford-on-Avon production.

779. Robinson, Marie I. "Revivals on the New York Stage, 1930-1950, with a statistical survey of their performances from 1750-1950 (Vols. I, II)", *DA*, XXI 1291 (Northwestern).

In revivals, *Shak.* takes precedence.

780. Rogers, E. G. "Sonnet CXXX: Watson to Linche to Shakespeare", *SQ*, XI, 232-233.

In *Diella*, "Linche imitated Watson and was in turn satirized by Shakespeare".

781. Rogers, H. L. "The Prophetic Label in *Cymbeline*", *RES*, n.s., XI, 296-299.

In *Cym.* V.iv, the "lopp'd branches" prophecy derives from some account of St. Edward the Confessor's death-bed vision, probably suggested to *Shak.* through Holinshed.

782. Rogers, Houston. "Richard II at the Old Vic", *Theatre World*, Jan., pp. 27-30.

783. ———. "Romeo and Juliet at the Old Vic", *Theatre World*, Nov., pp. 9-15. Photographs.

784. *Romeo and Juliet notes*, including scene by scene synopsis—character sketches, selected examination questions and answers (Cliff's notes and outlines). Lincoln, Nebraska: Cliff's. Pp. 42.

785. Rosen, William. *Shakespeare and the Craft of Tragedy*. Harvard U. P. Pp. 231.

"Investigates how the point of view of an audience is established towards the protagonist" in *Lear*, *Macb.*, *Antony*, and *Cor.*

Rev.: Robert L. Tener, *SNL*, X, 35; *TLS*, Dec. 2, p. 784; Hermann Heuer, *SJ*, XCVI, 251-253.

786. Ross, Lawrence J. "The Meaning of Strawberries in Shakespeare", *Studies in the Renaissance*, VII, 225-240. Strawberry allusions in *R. III*, *H. V*, and *Oth.* become meaningful in the light of Ren. symbolism, the strawberry regularly signifying either an actual good or an apparent good with an underlying evil.

787. Rostenberg, Leona. "Thomas Thorpe, Publisher of 'Shake-Speares Sonnets'", *PBSA*, LIV, 16-37.

A heavily conjectural biography of Thorpe's publishing career, expanding Acheson's arguments that Thorpe "was the agent of Shakespeare's enemies".

788. Rubow, Paul Victor. *Kong Henrik den Sjette*. København: I kommission hos Munksgaard, 1959. Pp. 42.

789. Ryan, S. P. "The Surprising Rebirth of Shakespeare", *Catholic World*, CXCI, 176-182.
790. Sacks, Claire and Edgar Whan (edd.). *Hamlet: Enter Critic*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. Paper. Pp. xi + 298.
An anthology of 38 selections from *Ham.* criticism, 1736-1959, with suggested study questions.
791. Salerno, Nicholas A. "Shakespeare and Arnold's 'Dover Beach'", *SQ*, XI, 495-496.
Arnold's poem may have been influenced by *Antony* IV.xv.8-11.
792. Sasayama, Takashi. "Erizabesu Cho Higeki to Hyumanisumu ('Humanism and Elizabethan Tragedy')", *Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences* (North and South College, Osaka Univ.), VIII, 40-64.
On two opposing attitudes toward man and the universe—Christian humanism and neo-humanism.
793. Satin, Joseph. "Romeo and Juliet as Renaissance Vita Nuova", *Discourse*, III, 67-85.
Recognition of Juliet's indebtedness to the Beatrice tradition is essential to understanding *Romeo*.
794. Sato, Kiyoshi. "Kiitsu to Sheikusupia ('Keats and *Shak.*'), *Shisei* (Tokyo), XXVII.
795. Saunders, J. W. "Staging at the Globe, 1599-1613", *SQ*, XI, 401-425.
With 3 diagrams. Enumerates 4 principles basic to any discussion of Eliz. staging and then, in the light of those principles, reexamines the questions of access, upper stage, enclosures, and penthouse.
796. Schaar, Claes. *An Elizabethan Sonnet Problem: Shakespeare's Sonnets, Daniel's Delia, and their Literary Background*. Lund Studies in English, XXVIII. Lund: C. W. K. Geerup. Pp. 190.
797. Schadewaldt, Wolfgang. "Shakespeare und die griechische Tragödie. Sophokles' *Electra* und *Hamlet*", *SJ*, XCVI, 7-34.
Both *Hamlet* and *Electra* are too pure for the decadent world in which they have to live. The two plays have similar saga backgrounds and similar dramatic forms.
798. Schalla, Hans. "The Topical Interest of Shakespeare Today: *Julius Caesar*", *World Theatre*, VIII (1959), 269-272.
By the director of *Caesar* at the Theatre of the Nations, 1959. Every generation must work out its own presentation of the play's "everlasting topicality".
799. Schaller, Rudolf. "Shakespeares Sprache heute. *Romeo und Julia* in neuer deutscher Textgestalt", *Theater der Zeit*, XIV.7 (1959), 9-12.
800. Schanzer, Ernest. "*Antony and Cleopatra* and *The Legend of Good Women*", *N&Q*, n.s., VII, 335-336.
Shak. probably drew upon Chaucer for references in *Antony* to *Cleopatra*'s husbands.
801. —. "Heywood's *Ages* and Shakespeare", *RES*, n.s., XI, 18-28.
Parallels to *Shak.* suggest that Heywood's *Golden*, *Silver*, and *Brasen Ages*, or at least the latter two, were written in 1611.
802. —. "The Marriage-Contracts in *Measure for Measure*", *SS* 13, pp. 81-89.
Sound interpretation of *Meas.* requires a sound basis. An accurate understanding of Eliz. "moral tenets and edicts" eliminates many supposed difficulties in *Shak.*'s treatment of Claudio-Juliet and Angelo-Mariana.
803. —. "Three Notes on *Antony and Cleopatra*", *N&Q*, n.s., VII, 20-22.
(1) I.i.37 should have no punctuation after "thus"; (2) Demetrius, Philo, Varrius, and Rannius (misprint for "Ramnus") are from Plutarch, Scarus from Appian; (3) III.x.10 refers back to III.vii.6-9.
804. Schlauch, Margaret. "Roman 'controversiae' and the Court Scene in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*", *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny*, VII, 45-56.
805. Schlegelmilch, Wolf. "Shakespeares 'Othello' in Oberprima", *Praxis des neusprachlichen Unterrichts*, VII, 148-150.

806. Schlüter, Kurt. *Shakespeares Dramatische Erzählkunst*. Heidelberg, 1958.
Rev.: Robert Fricker, *Anglia*, LXXVIII, 95-96; Horst Oppel, *Die Neueren Sprache*, VIII (1959), 150-151.
807. Schmidt di Simoni, Karen. *Shakespeares Troilus und Cressida: Eine sprachlich-stilistische Untersuchung* (Schriftenreihe der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, n.f., VIII). Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer. Pp. 172.
See 1958 Bibl., no. 768.
- 807a. Smidtchen, P. W. "Shakespeare, English Dramatist", *Hobbies*, Oct., pp. 106-108; Nov., pp. 107-110; Dec., pp. 107-108.
808. Schmidt-Hidding, Wolfgang. *Sieben Meister des literarischen Humors in England und Amerika*. Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1959. Pp. 168.
Pp. 36-60 on *Shak.*
Rev.: R. W. Zandvoort, *SQ*, XI, 373-374.
809. Scholes, Robert E. "Dr. Johnson and the Bibliographical Criticism of Shakespeare", *SQ*, XI, 163-171.
Johnson was a significant and influential pioneer "even in that 'modern' and 'scientific' department of scholarship—bibliographical criticism".
810. Schücking, Levin Ludwig. "Hamlet", *Horisont* (Stockholm), V (1958), 12-28.
811. ———. "Die Streichungen in der *Othello*-Quarto", in *Festschrift f. Franz Rolf Schröder* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1959), pp. 196-207.
812. Schuster, M. F. (Sister). "The Flaw in *Hamlet*—Again", *Catholic Educator*, XXX, 435-436.
813. Schwartz, Kessel. "Benavente and Shakespeare", *Romance Notes*, I, 101-105.
Benavente, who has often written of *Shak.*, ranks him somewhat below Spain's best comic dramatists.
814. Sehr, Ernst Theodor. *Der dramatische Aufstakt in der Elisabethanischen Tragödie: Interpretationen zum englischen Drama der Shakespearezeit*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Pp. 213.
Contains chapters on *Shak.*'s histories and tragedies.
815. Seiden, Melvin. "Shakespeare's Comic Dream World: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*", *Kansas Magazine*, 1959, pp. 84-90.
816. Sekimoto, Mayako. "Antoni to Creopatora", *Seijo Bungei* (Seijo Univ., Tokyo), Oct., pp. 7-17.
817. Selz, J. "Héros scandinaves de Shakespeare et de Strindberg", *Les Lettres Nouvelles*, Mar.-Ap., pp. 97-100.
Compares a recent production of *Ham.* with one of *Erik XIV*, both lacking adequately "scandinavian" interpretation.
818. Senda, Koreya. "Butai no Sheikusupia ('*Shak.* on Stage')", *Rising Generation*, CVI.4, 172-173.
Views of a practicing actor and stage-director.
819. Seronsy, Cecil C. "Shakespeare and Daniel: More Echoes", *N&Q*, n.s., VII, 328-329.
Further evidence that *Shak.* and Daniel borrowed from one another.
820. Sewall, Richard B. *The Vision of Tragedy*. Yale U. P., 1959.
Rev.: H. W. H., *Personalist*, XLI, 238-239; Vincent F. Blehl, *SJ. Thought*, XXXV, 290-291; Virginia W. Callahan, *Traditio*, XV (1959), 443-448; John P. Kirby, *Explicator*, Dec., 1959.
821. Shackford, Martha Hale. *Shakespeare, Sophocles: dramatic themes and modes*. New York: Bookman Associates. Pp. 117.
822. "Shakespeare Arena", *American Bar Association Journal*, XLV (1959), 604-606.
Parts of 14 letters on *Shak.*'s identity, responses to the data provided by Richard Bentley (no. 273). The jury is hung.
823. "Shakespeare in France", *TLS*, Dec. 2, p. 779.
On *Shak.* in 20th-century France, occasioned by the *Shak.* issue of *EA* (no. 1 above).

824. "Shakespeare in Harlem", *America*, CII, 747.
825. *Shakespeare's Country in Colour: A Collection of Colour Photographs*. With an introductory text and notes on the illustrations by Joan Fleming. London: Batsford. Pp. 94.
826. Shapiro, I. A. "Stenography' and 'Bad Quartos'", *TLS*, May 13, p. 305.
According to Heywood, his "plot" rather than his "play" was stolen by stenography. "Plot" here probably means "scenario". "The expansion and rewriting of a 'stenographic' scenario would explain more convincingly than the theory of memorial reconstruction certain characteristics of 'bad quartos'".
827. Sharpe, Robert Boies. *Irony in the Drama*. North Carolina U. P., 1959.
Rev.: Thomas B. Stroup, *SQ*, XI, 75-77; Walter A. Strauss, *MLN*, LXXV, 366-368; J. Leeds Barroll, *MP*, LVIII, 66-68; T. R. Henn, *MLR*, LV, 256; Ordean G. Ness, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLVI, 100; R. H. McKenzie, *Educational Theatre Journal*, XI (1959), 243-244.
828. Shaw-Zambra, W. W. "Shylock's 'Woollen Bagpipe'", *TLS*, Feb. 12, p. 97.
Cletus Oakley's suggestion (no. 705) is neither new nor convincing.
829. *Shekspirouski Sbornik, 1958* (Shakespeare Miscellany), edd. A. Anikst and A. Stein. Moscow, 1959.
Rev.: Zdeněk Stříbrný, *Philologica Pragensia*, III.1, 45-48 (in English).
830. Shield, H. S. "Fore-horse to a Smocke", *Shakespearean Authorship Review*, no. 1 (1959), p. 24.
All's W. II.i.30 needs no emendation, "forehorse" meaning "something over-decorated and hung with favours".
831. Shitova, V. "Shekspir v Muzyke", *Sovetskaya Muzyka* (Moscow) XXIII, 152 ff.
832. Siegel, Paul N. "Correspondence", *SQ*, XI, 394-395.
In response to Robert Ornstein (1959 Bibl., no. 686), Mr. Siegel re-
- states the grounds for his belief that Othello is damned.
833. ———. "A New Source for *Othello*?", *PMLA*, LXXV, 480.
Fenton's *Tragicall Discourses*, in its story of an "Albanoy's captain", contains resemblances to *Oth.* not found in Cinthio.
834. Simonnet, Claude. "La Parodie et le thème de 'Hamlet' chez Raymond Queneau", *Les Lettres Nouvelles*, no. 34 (1959), pp. 12-17.
835. Simpson, Robert R. *Shakespeare and Medicine*. London, 1959.
Rev.: G. Monsarrat, *EA*, XIII, 372; Hermann Heuer, *SJ*, XCVI, 256-257.
836. Simpson, Samuel R. *Shakespeare in Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Bond. Pp. 90.
Imaginary conversations with *Shak.*
837. Sinsheimer, Hermann. *Shylock. Die Geschichte e. Figur*. Mit e. Nachw. von Hanns Braun. München: Ner-Tamid-Verl.
838. Sisson, C. J. "The Laws of Elizabethan Copyright", *Library*, XV, 8-20.
839. ———. "The Roman Plays", *The Living Shakespeare* (no. 455), pp. 127-139.
840. ———. "Shakespeare's Helena and Dr. William Harvey: With a case-history from Harvey's practice", *Essays and Studies*, XIII, 1-20.
Court of Chancery records deserve more attention. They can show, for example, that Helena's medical activity in *All's W.* was "at all points . . . consonant with the realities of contemporary life, and not an element of fairy-tale invention".
841. Sisson, Rosemary Anne. *The Young Shakespeare*, illus. by Denise Brown. New York: Roy, 1959. Pp. 160.
For children.
842. Sjögren, Gunnar. "Ett svart stjärnskott ('A black meteor')", *Teatern* (Jönköping), no. 2, pp. 11-12.
Ira Aldridge as Othello and Shylock in Sweden, 1857.
843. ———. *Var Othello neger och andra Shakespeareproblem*. Stockholm 1958.

- Rev.: Lorentz Eckhoff, *SQ*, XI, 374-375; S. B. Liljegren, *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, VII (1959), 421.
844. —. "Botanisk, litterär och medicinsk Shakespeare-flora. Rosen och ormen", *Kvällposten* (Malmö), Ap. 23.
Review of recent *Shak.* literature.
845. Sklovskij, V. "O Gekube", *Teatr* (Moscow), IX.6 (1958), 63-68.
On *Ham.*
846. Slaughter, Helena Robin. "Jacques Copeau, metteur en scène de Shakespeare et des Elisabethains", *EA*, XIII, 176-191.
See. no. 383 above.
847. Smith, Gordon Ross. "The Credibility of Shakespeare's Aaron", *Literature and Psychology*, X, 11-13.
Aaron's paradoxical behaviour is consistent with that observed by modern criminology.
848. Smith, Hal Hampson. "Elizabethan Symbolism and the Unity of *Troilus and Cressida*", *DA*, XX, 2810 (Princeton).
849. Smith, Lisa Gordon. "*The Taming of the Shrew*", *Plays and Players*, Aug., p. 31.
Stratford-on-Avon production.
850. Snuggs, Henry Lawrence. *Shakespeare and Five Acts*: studies in a dramatic convention. New York: Vantage Press. Pp. 144.
851. Solem, Delmar E. "An Experimental Twelfth Night", *Southern Speech Journal*, XXIV (1959), 197-200.
On a non-traditional production of *Twel.* at the Univ. of Miami.
852. Sommers, Alan. "*Wilderness of Tigers*: Structure and Symbolism in *Titus Andronicus*", *EC*, X, 275-289.
The "essential conflict" in *Titus* "is the struggle between Rome, and all this signifies in the European tradition", versus "the barbarism of primitive, original nature".
853. Soroka, O. P. "Neologisms Formed by Conversions in the Works of Shakespeare", *Gosudarstvennyi Pedagogicheskii Institut im A. I. Gertsena Uchenye Zapiski* (State Pedagogical Institute Scientific Records, Leningrad), CLXXXIX, no. 2 (1959), pp. 67-87.
854. Souriau, Étienne. "Paysages Shakespeareans et Paysages Raciniens", *Revue D'Esthétique*, XIII, 91-103.
On effective staging of landscape in *Shak.* and Racine.
855. Southam, B. C. "Shakespeare's Christian Sonnet? Number 146", *SQ*, XI, 67-71.
Sonn. 146 implicitly condemns what it appears to approve. Ironically, it pleads "for the life of the body as against the rigorous asceticism which glorifies the life of the spirit at the expense of the vitality and richness of sensuous experience".
856. Southern, Richard. "The Mystery of the Elizabethan Stage", *Listener*, LXIII (Mar. 24), 533-535.
Questions Leslie Hotson's views that Elizabethan staging was "in the round", that the tiring house was under the stage, and that the discovery spaces were at the sides of the stage.
857. Speaight, Robert. *The Christian Theatre*. London: Burns and Oates. Pp. 140.
Partly concerned with *Shak.* as a Christian dramatist, especially in *Meas.*
Rev.: *TLS*, Aug. 12, p. 508.
858. —. "The 1960 Season at Stratford-upon-Avon", *SQ*, XI, 445-453.
T.G.V., *Shrew*, *Much*, *Twel.*, *Troi.*, *W.T.*
859. "Speak the Speech", *Plays and Players*, Feb., p. 20.
A resumé of John Neville's criticisms of recent *Shak.* productions.
860. Spencer, T. B. "The Tyranny of Shakespeare", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XLV, 154-171.
Annual *Shak.* lecture.
- 860a. Spielmann, M. H. "The Portraits of Shakespeare", *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XX, 459-460. London, New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1959.
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861. Spivack, Bernard. *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil*. Columbia U. P., 1958.
Rev.: Roy Walker, *MLR*, LV, 102-103; Kenneth Muir, *RES*, n.s., XI, 200-201; Michel Poirier, *EA*, XIII, 371-372; Sylvan Barnet, *Educational Theatre Journal*, XI (1959), 248-250.
862. Spivack, Charlotte. "Macbeth and Dante's Inferno", *North Dakota Quarterly*, XXVIII, 50-52.
Reflecting its "medieval Christian heritage", *Macb.* contains "the dual Dantesque theme of the equivocal nature of evil and its double-dealing consequences".
863. "The Stage: To Man from Mankind's Heart", *Time*, Jul. 4, pp. 60-72.
An essay on *Shak.* and his current popularity in the theatre. Six pages of colored plates, mainly of modern productions.
Condensed in *Reader's Digest*, Sep., pp. 101-104.
864. Stampfer, J. "The Catharsis of *King Lear*", *SS* 13, pp. 1-10.
At "Lear's death, each audience, by the ritual of drama, shares and releases the most private and constricting fear to which mankind is subject, the fear that penance is impossible, . . . that we inhabit an imbecile universe".
865. Steck, Paul. "Der Einfluss Shakespeares auf die Technik der Meisterdramen Schillers", *SJ*, XCVI, 106-133.
Shak. influence on Schiller's exposition and use of mass-scenes, with particular attention to *Macb.*, *Caesar*, *Antony*, and *Lear*.
866. Stein, Walter. "Tragedy and the Absurd", *Dublin Review*, CCXXXIII (Winter 1959-1960), 363-382.
Shak.'s vision in *Lear*, tragic and profoundly religious, contrasts with that typical of Chekhov. The Fool's view of the tragedy is transcended by *Lear* as a whole.
867. Steiner, Rudolf. *Shakespeare und die neuen Erziehungsideal* (Zwei Vorträge gehalten anlässlich des Shakespeare-Festes in Stratford-on-Avon am 19. und 23. April 1922). Stuttgart: Freies Geistesleben, 1959. Pp. 44.
868. Stevenson, Robert. *Shakespeare's Religious Frontier*. The Hague, 1958.
Rev.: Richard Van Fossen, *JEGP*, LIX, 146-147.
869. Stirland, Dorothy Jean. *First Book of Great Writers*. New York: Cassell, 1959. Pp. 67.
Shak.'s life included, pp. 21-28. For children.
870. Stirling, Brents. "A Shakespeare Sonnet Group", *PMLA*, LXXV, 340-349.
A reordering of the *Sonn.*, soundly based, is necessary. One such rearrangement (100-101, 63-68, 19, 21, 105) reveals a highly unified "lost" sequence.
871. Stoll, Elmer Edgar. *Shakespeare Studies: historical and comparative in method*. New York: Ungar. Pp. 502.
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872. Stoller, L. "We Learn, See, and Play Shakespeare", *School Activities*, XXXI, 205-207.
873. Stolpe, Sven. "Sex gånge Hamlet", *Aftonbladet*, Ap. 16.
On 6 interpreters of Hamlet on the Stockholm stage, 1915-1960.
874. Stone, Lilly C. *English Sports and Recreations* (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization). Washington, D. C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library. Pp. 29, 21 plates.
Rev.: T. R. Henn, *MLR*, LV, 624; Waveney R. N. Payne, *SQ*, XI, 485.
875. "Stratford May Show Profit in 1960", *Financial Post* (Canada), Jul. 2, p. 60.
876. "Stratford Shakespeare Festival", *Culture* (Canada), Mar., pp. 91-92.
877. "Stratford-upon-Avon 1960", *Drama*, Summer, pp. 28-29.
Productions of *Twel.*, *T.G.V.* and *Shrew*.
878. Stříbrný, Zdeněk. "Devátá mezinárodní shakespearovská konference", *Časopis pro moderní filologii* (Praha), XLII.1, 30-36.
On the 9th International *Shak.* Conference, Stratford-upon-Avon.

879. —. *Shakespearovy historické hry*. Praha, 1959.
Rev.: Petr Den, *SQ*, XI, 220-221; Jaroslav Pokorný, *Theatre Research*, II, 113-115; Gustav Kirchner, *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, VIII.3, 304-305.
880. Stroman, Bert. "Richard II, een veronachtzaamd koningsdrama", *Het Tooneel* (Amsterdam), 1958, no. 1.
881. Suchařípa, Leoš. "Dobrou noc můj princí!", *Divadelní noviny* (Praha), Ap. 13, p. 5.
Reviews new production of *Ham.* at Ostrava (Moravia).
882. Suga, Yasuo. "Osero no Iro ('On Othello's Complexion')", *Rising Generation*, CVI.6, 287.
"Black" (as in "And you the blacker devil") implies something deep-rooted, not merely "dark".
883. Sullivan, J. P. "The Machiavel and the Moor", *EC*, X, 231-234 (Critical Forum).
Opposing Laurence Lerner's article in *EC*, IX (1959 Bibl., no. 580). The "subject" of *Oth.*, of which Lerner is unaware, is sexual jealousy in its various manifestations.
884. Swander, Homer. "The Use of Shakespeare: A Cautionary Essay", *Spectrum*, IV, 24-39.
Critics should always regard the context of *Shak.* passages when citing them to support an interpretation of other authors.
885. Szenkuthy, M. "Shakespeare", *Kortárs* (Budapest), IV, 437-445.
886. Szyfman, Arnold. "King Lear on the Stage: A Producer's Reflections", *SS* 13, pp. 69-71.
By the experienced director of the Teatr Polski in Warsaw. Played "humanly as a simple tragic legend", *Lear* can be even more effective on the stage than in the study.
887. "The Taming of the Shrew". Riksteatern production reviewed by Clas Brunius, *Expressen* (Stockholm), Jan. 21; Ebbe Linde, *Dagens Nyheter*, Jan. 22; Carl-Eric Palmquist, *Folket* (Gävle), Jan. 21; Urban Stenström, *Svenska Dagbladet*, Jan. 22; Martin Strömberg, *Stockholm* *stidningen*, Jan. 22; Birgitta Åström, *Eskilstunakuriren*, Jan. 21; Åke Perlstrom, *Göteborgsposten*, Sep. 27; Gösta Andrén, *Ny Tid*, Sep. 26.
888. Taylor, Marion A. "Ophelia Exonerated", *SNL*, X, 27.
Ophelia has been unjustly condemned as weak. "Did life and Hamlet give the fair Ophelia a fair chance", such as Dostoevsky granted Sonia?
889. Thompson, Karl F. "A Note on Ariosto's *I Suppositi*", *Comparative Literature*, XII, 42-46.
Gascoigne's *Supposes*, not Ariosto's original, introduced most of "the romantic tone and effect" which anticipate *Shak.*'s *Shrew*.
890. Tillyard, E. M. W. *The Nature of Comedy and Shakespeare*. Oxford U. P., 1958.
Rev.: H. Schnyder, *Archiv*, CXCVI (1959), 214; Michel Poirier, *EA*, XIII, 89.
891. Tison, John L., Jr. "Shakespeare's *Consolatio* for Exile", *MLQ*, XXI, 142-157.
On *Shak.*'s "art in adapting the matter, manner, and conventions of the [*consolatio*] tradition to the dramatic presentation of exile".
892. Titherley, A. W. "The Two Hours Traffic of our Stage", *Shakespearean Authorship Review*, no. 3, pp. 3-4.
The prologue to *Romeo* implies that stage managers had a free hand in cutting this play, perhaps to something very like Q 1.
893. Toyama, Shigehiko. "Riya no Kyoran no Serifu ('Mad Lear's Speeches in IV.vi')", *Athenaeum* (Univ. of Education, Tokyo), IV, 11-22.
Compares Lear's madness with Ophelia's, and studies the dramatic irony involved in its appeal to the audience.
894. —. "Sheikusupia o meguru Hitotsu no Gimon ('One Problem surrounding *Shak.*'), *Momonga* (Tokyo), Jan.
895. Traschen, Isadore. "Tragic Hamlet and Comic Engineers and Scientists", *Western Humanities Review*, XIV, 13-17.

- Hamlet's "tragic sense of life" is preferable to the "scientific-rational" debasement of man so dominant today.
896. Traversi, Derek. *Shakespeare: From Richard II to Henry V*. Stanford U. P., 1957.
Rev.: Kenneth Muir, *RES*, n.s., XI, 75-76; D. H. Burden, *EC*, X, 86-94; H. Coombes, *Gemini*, Spring 1959, pp. 54-55; Hans Andersson, *Moderna Språk*, LIV, 76-77.
- 896a. —. *William Shakespeare: the early comedies*. London: Longmans, Green for the British Council and National Book League. Pp. 46.
On *Errors*, *Shrew*, *T.G.V.*, and *L.L.L.*
897. Trewin, J. C. "The Best Plays and Actors of 1959", *Plays and Players*, Jan., pp. 7-8.
Discusses Olivier's *Cor.* and other *Shak.* productions.
898. —. "Catching the Post", *Illustrated London News*, Aug. 27, p. 358.
Caesar in modern dress by the Youth Theatre at the Queen's.
899. —. "Fighting On", *Illustrated London News*, Mar. 12, p. 446.
Mermaid production of *H. V.*, as adapted by Bernard Miles and Julius Gellner, in modern battledress.
900. —. "Henry V", *Illustrated London News*, Jun. 11, p. 1036.
John Neville's *H. V.* at the Old Vic.
901. —. "The Other Sir John", *Illustrated London News*, Jan. 9, p. 70.
Old Vic production of *Wives*.
902. —. "Out of Order", *Illustrated London News*, Jul. 2, p. 34.
Shrew at Stratford-on-Avon with Dame Peggy Ashcroft as *Katherine*.
903. —. *The Pictorial Story of Shakespeare and Stratford-upon-Avon*; foreword by Levi Fox. New ed. London: Pitkin. Pp. [2] + 25.
904. —. "Second Half", *Illustrated London News*, Mar. 5, p. 406.
Birmingham Repertory Theatre production of *2 H. IV.*
905. —. "A Set of Problems", *Illustrated London News*, Sep. 17, p. 488.
- Peter Wood's Stratford-on-Avon production of *W.T.*
906. —. "Stratford Straddle", *Illustrated London News*, Ap. 23, p. 704.
Peter Hall's *T.G.V.*
907. —. "A Tale of Two Cities", *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 27, p. 364.
Birmingham Repertory Theatre production of *1 H. IV.*
908. —. "Tall Troy's Down", *Illustrated London News*, Aug. 6, p. 240.
Troi. at Stratford-on-Avon.
909. —. "Two Stratfords", *Illustrated London News*, Jan. 30, p. 188.
Prospectus for the 1960 season at Stratford-on-Avon.
910. Troeger, Heinrich (ed.). *Weisheit und Wahrheit in Shakespeares dramatischen Werken*. Eine Sammlung von Lesefrüchten. Darmstadt, 1959. Pp. 158.
911. Trout, R. Ridgill. "Chris-Cross", *Shakespearean Authorship Review*, no. 2 (1959), pp. 6-8.
Oxfordian signs in Gascoigne and *R. III.*
912. Tschopp, Elisabeth. *Zur Verteilung von Vers und Prosa in Shakespeares Dramen*. Bern, 1956.
Rev.: M. Mincoff, *ES*, XLI, 270-272; Robert Fricker, *Anglia*, LXVIII, 96-97; A. Schlösser, *Zeitschrift für Angl. u. Amerik.*, VII (1959), 72-73.
913. Tucci, Gerald Alfred. "Baretti and the Shakespearean Influence in Italy: A Study in 18th Century Polemics in Italy", *DA*, XX, 4664 (New York).
By 1850, Italians were becoming familiar with *Shak.*, largely due to Baretti's influence.
914. Turner, David A. "Shakespeare and the Status Seekers", *English Journal*, XLIX, 634-636.
Versus Charles Bartling's suggestions (no. 266) as symptomatic of high school emphasis on famous books badly taught rather than on education. If *Shak.* is really too hard, teach simpler authors.
915. Turner, Robert Y. "Dramatic Conventions in *All's Well That Ends Well*", *PMLA*, LXXV, 497-502.

- In following the conventions of contemporaneous prodigal son plays, *Shak.* produced in *All's W.* "a comedy more of an age than for all time".
916. Tykesson, Elisabeth. "Shakespeare-analysen i Goethes Wilhelm Meister", *En Goethebok till Algot Werin* (Lund, 1958), pp. 59-75.
917. Ulanov, Barry. *Sources and Resources: the literary traditions of Christian Humanism*. Westminister, Md.: New-man. Pp. xv + 286.
Includes "Shakespeare and St. John of the Cross: De Contemptu Mundi" (pp. 150-187).
Rev.: Philip Deasy, *Commonweal*, LXXII, 156-158.
918. Uranga, Emilio. *La Nostalgia de Shakespeare*. Mexico City: El Unicornio, 1959. Pp. 38.
On *Shak.*'s influence and reputation in Germany.
919. Utz, Kathryn Elizabeth. "Columbus, Ohio Theatre Seasons 1840-41 to 1860-61, Vols. I, II", *DA*, XX, 2811 (Ohio State).
Shak. heavy in repertoire.
920. Valency, Maurice. *In Praise of Love: an introduction to the love-poetry of the Renaissance*. New York: Macmillan, 1958. Pp. xii + 319.
Rev.: Michel Poirier, *EA*, XIII, 55-56.
921. Van de Water, Julia C. "The Bastard in *King John*", *SO*, XI, 137-146.
Faulconbridge "is basically not a major character at all. He remains essentially what he was in *The Troublesome Reign*—a 'ficelle' playing a variety of roles".
922. Vanina, Irina. *Shakespeare on the Ukrainian Stage*. Kyiv, Derzh: Vyd-vo obrazotvorchoho mystetsva i muzychnoi lit-ry USSR, 1958. Pp. 102.
Rev.: N. Antonova, *Sovetskaia Ukraina* (Kiev), IX (1959), 169-171.
923. "Verdi vs Shakespeare", *Theatre Arts*, Mar., pp. 38-39.
Colloquy between Siobhan McKenna and Boris Goldovsky on *Macbeth*, the play and the opera.
924. Viebrock, Helmut. *Englische Geschichte und Shakespeares Historien* (Frankfurter Universitätsreden 23). Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1959. Pp. 56.
925. Vouk, Vera. "Shakespearean Names in Serbo-Croatian Translation", *Studia Romanica et Anglicae Zagrabienis* (Zagreb), nos. 9-10.
On criteria in rendering *Shak.* names.
926. Vyvyan, John. *Shakespeare and the Rose of Love: A Study of the Early Plays in Relation to the Medieval Philosophy of Love*. London: Chatto and Windus. Pp. 200.
Rev.: *TLS*, Jul. 29, p. 482; Roy Walker, *Twentieth Century*, CLXVIII, 368-370; Jens Kistrup, *Berlingske Tidende* (Copenhagen), Aug. 13; Tom Greenwell, *John O'London's*, Sep. 13, p. 252; Clifford Leech, *Critical Quarterly*, II, 377-380.
927. ——. *The Shakespearean Ethic*. London, 1959.
Rev.: Terence Spencer, *London Magazine*, VI.7 (1959), 73-76; W. W. Robson, *Spectator*, Feb. 13, 1959, p. 238; J. Vallette, *Mercur de France*, CCCXXXVI (1959), 153; G. R. Elliott, *RN*, XIII, 246-248; K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Hindu*, Ap. 19, 1959.
928. Wada, Yuichi. "Henri VIII Geki no Kosei to sono Imi ('H. VIII: its Construction and What it Implies')", *English Language and Literature* (Kumamoto Univ.), III.
929. Wadsworth, F. W. *The Poacher from Stratford*. California U. P., 1958.
Rev.: F. D. Hoeniger, *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, XXIX (1959), 101-102; Roland M. Frye, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LVIII (1959), 477-478; R. A. Foakes, *English*, XIII, 22-23.
930. Wainwright, R. M. D. "Elizabethan Noblemen and the Literary Profession", *Shakespearean Authorship Review*, no. 1 (1959), pp. 6-7.
An Anti-Stratfordian reminder that Eliz. noblemen anxiously avoided any appearance of being professional authors.

931. Walton, J. K. "Lear's Last Speech", *SS* 13, pp. 11-19.
If dying Lear believed Cordelia alive, it would contradict the whole "growth of consciousness" structure of the play.
932. ———. "Strength's Abundance: A View of *Othello*", *RES*, n.s., XI, 8-17.
The "prime mover of the tragedy . . . is to be found in the strength, rather than the weakness, of *Othello* and *Desdemona*".
933. Ware, Malcolm. "Hamlet's *Sullied/Solid Flesh*", *SQ*, XI, 490.
Tennyson, in an 1880 letter to F. J. Furnivall, suggested "sullied" but explained a preference for "solid".
934. Warnke, F. J. "Macbeth Demoted", *Opera*, XXIV, 10-11.
935. Wasson, John. "Measure for Measure: A Play of Incontinence", *ELH*, XXVII, 262-275.
"Many of the problems traditionally associated with *Meas.* disappear if we keep in mind that both Angelo and Claudio are incontinent, not vicious", the play being conceived in Aristotelian terms.
936. Watson, Curtis Brown. *Shakespeare and the Renaissance Concept of Honor*. Princeton U. P. Pp. 654.
937. Watson, George. "Three Ways to Shakespeare", *Listener*, LXIV, 309-310.
Shak.'s plays have been treated as if they were novels, or documents in history, or poems, too rarely as plays. "Techniques of verbal analysis", already largely mastered, must be combined "with a new respect for structure and context".
John Leahy (p. 387) recommends Kenneth Burke for a more precise definition of the problem involved in formal *Shak.* criticism.
938. Weales, Gerald. "Titus Andronicus, Private Eye", *Southwest Review*, XLIV (1959), 255-259.
The growing acceptability of *Titus* reflects modern changes in attitude toward physical horror.
939. Webster, Margaret. "Shakespeare in His Time", *The Living Shakespeare* (no. 455), pp. 11-17.
940. ———. "Shakespeare in Our Time", *The Living Shakespeare* (no. 455), pp. 18-24.
941. Weimann, Robert. *Drama und Wirklichkeit in der Shakespearezeit*. Halle am Saale, 1958.
Rev.: Ernest Schanzer, *MLR*, LV, 101-102; Alois Bejblík, *Divadlo* (Praha), Nov., pp. 495-498; H. Schnyder, *Archiv*, CXCVI (1959), 216-217; J. Krehayn, *Zeitschrift für Angl. u. Amerik.*, VII (1959), 318-321.
942. Weinstock, Horst. "Zu *Hamlet*, II.2.500: 'bisson'", *SJ*, XCVI, 177-191.
"Bisson" does not mean "blind" or "perblind", but "serpent".
943. Weltmann, Lutz. "Shakespeare auf dem englischen Theater", *Sinn u. Form*, X (1958), 932-945.
944. Wenzel, Walter. "Shakespeare und wir", *Geist u. Zeit* (Düsseldorf), 1957, no. 3, pp. 142-153.
945. ———. "Was ist mit dem Juden Shylock? Theaterspielplan und Kulturpolitik", *Geist u. Zeit* (Düsseldorf), 1957, no. 4, pp. 149-154.
946. West, Robert H. "Sex and Pessimism in *King Lear*", *SQ*, XI, 55-60.
Lear implies that "sex may be exalted by the miracle of love and so made confrontable, though mysterious still, secure in the doubts and even despair that properly go with great mystery".
947. Wey, James J. "To Grace Harmony: Musical Design in *Much Ado about Nothing*", *Boston Univ. Studies in English*, IV, 181-188.
Music and allusions to music are extensively and consistently worked into the thematic structure of *Much*.
948. Wham, Benjamin. "Marlowe's Mighty Line: Was Marlowe Murdered at Twenty-nine?", *American Bar Assn. Journal*, XLVI, 509-513.
Anti-Stratfordian pro Marlowe.
949. "When Stratford Comes to Town", *Plays and Players*, Dec., p. 5.
Prospectus for Aldwych Theatre to become West End branch of *Shak.* Memorial Theatre.
950. White, Howard B. "Politics in Shake-

- speare", *Orbis litterarum*, XIII.3-4 (1958), 101-125.
951. White, K. S. "Two French Versions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*", *French Review*, XXXIII, 341-350.
952. Wickham, Glynne. *Early English Stages, 1300-1660*. Vol. I: 1300-1576. London, 1959.
Rev.: Sydney Anglo, *RN*, XIII, 157-162; D. S. Bland, *English Historical Review*, LXXV, 336; J. W. Robinson, *Theatre Notebook*, XIV (1959), 21-23; Pierre Sadron, *Theatre Research*, II, 109-113; Albert B. Weiner, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLVI, 98; Pierre Sadron, *Revue d'histoire du théâtre*, XI (1959), 345-346; Arthur Brown, *RES*, n.s., XI, 423-426.
953. Wicks, Helen. "New Faces for the Old Vic", *Plays and Players*, Sep., p. 6.
Plays—*Twel.*, *Romeo, Dream*, 1 *H. IV*, and *Macb.*—and actors for the 1960-61 season.
954. Wiese, Benno von. *Der Mensch in der Dichtung*. Düsseldorf: Bagel, 1958.
"Die tragische Grenzsituation in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*", pp. 33-51.
- 954a. William, David. "The Tempest' on the stage", in *Jacobean Theatre* (no. 319a), pp. 133-158.
A discussion of the play's structure; the verse and its speaking; staging, costume and music; characters and casting.
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